

## CHAPLAIN

*To be chaplain with the rank of major*

Chaplain Charles Oliver Purdy, from January 5, 1931.

## PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY

Lieut. Commander George L. Weyler to be a commander in the Navy from the 1st day of November, 1930.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy from the 1st day of October, 1930:

William H. Hartt, jr.

Junius L. Cotten.

Lieut. Christopher C. Miller to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy from the 16th day of October, 1930.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Richard W. Ruble to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 1st day of October, 1930.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Charles F. Coe to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 28th day of October, 1930.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Aaron P. Storrs, 3d, to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 14th day of November, 1930.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy from the 2d day of June, 1930:

Charles J. Zondorak.

Milton A. Nation.

Frederick C. Marggraff, jr.

Marshall L. Smith.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), from the 2d day of June, 1930:

James J. McKinstry.

Harold P. Richards.

Theodore S. Dukeshire.

Ensign Albert B. Corby to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, from the 7th day of June, 1928.

The following-named boatswains to be chief boatswains in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 9th day of August, 1930:

Carl Allen.

John F. King.

John L. Hunter.

William L. Hickey.

William F. Lewis.

John D. Cross.

Clarence L. Foushee.

Electrician George F. Little to be a chief electrician in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 7th day of August, 1930.

The following-named radio electricians to be chief radio electricians in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 8th day of November, 1929:

Albert J. Smith.

Edwin Hanna.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, JANUARY 8, 1931

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

As Thou hast put us here, O Thou God of Compassion, lay Thy hand upon us and bless us. We thank Thee for all the benign influences which have shaped our lives. As years roll by we shall think and talk of them with gratitude. To-day let us feel Thy presence breathing life and balm into all our natures. O Thou Divine Giver, give us the best things—joy unspeakable, peace that passeth understanding, and the heavenly voice that shall be to us a token of triumph. Enlarge our vision, broaden our horizon, and fill the heavens full of the evidences of fatherly benediction. In our tears, in our losses, and in our sorrows may we find victory. O Throne of Mystery, about which are clouds and darkness! O Throne of Grace, where our yearnings and our longings fall! O Elder Brother, hear us as we break the silence and give us wisdom. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the

following title, in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

S. 5295. An act authorizing an additional per capita payment to the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians.

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I shall not object; but I want to ask the gentleman a question. Is it the gentleman's position that all of the hue and cry about people suffering on the farms in the country in drought-stricken areas is mere bosh, is merely a question that has been raised by the communists, as the press has recently reported?

Mr. FISH. No, no.

Mr. BLANTON. Then the press must have misreported the gentleman.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object whether my request is granted or not, I would like to address the House for five minutes following the gentleman from New York.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, we are to have general debate a little later in the day, and the gentleman will have ample opportunity to address the House. Therefore I do not think the gentleman should ask for this time.

Mr. FISH. I have not spoken in the House for some time.

Mr. TILSON. There will be plenty of opportunity to-day.

Mr. FISH. I ask for only 10 minutes.

Mr. TILSON. There will be ample time in general debate, and I do not think the gentleman ought to put the floor leader in the embarrassing position of objecting.

Mr. FISH. I ask this as an emergency proposition.

Mr. TILSON. So far as I am concerned, I am willing to stay on into the night if other gentlemen are willing to do so. If the other 434 Members are willing to stay here, I am willing to stay along with the rest. It is not my obligation any more than it is the obligation of any of the other Members, but I do not think the gentleman ought to ask for this time now.

Mr. UNDERHILL. If it will relieve my leader of any embarrassment, I do not have any qualms about objecting. I object, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

## AMENDMENT TO THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION ACT

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 9985) to amend the act entitled "An act to amend the national prohibition act," approved March 2, 1929, a bill that has passed the House and passed the Senate with two or three minor amendments, which do not affect the bill as it passed the House. By unanimous direction of the Judiciary Committee, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate amendments be concurred in by the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri, by the unanimous direction of the Committee on the Judiciary, asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 9985, with Senate amendments, and agree to the Senate amendments. The Clerk will report the bill and the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

Page 1, line 10, strike out all after "sale" down to and including "law," in line 11.

Page 2, line 2, after "act," insert " : Provided, however, That the defendant has not theretofore within two years been convicted of a violation of the said act or is not engaged in habitual violation of the same."

Page 2, line 4, strike out "where" and insert "in the production of which."

Page 2, line 7, strike out "unlawful" and insert "unlawfully."

Page 2, line 7, strike out "of."

Page 2, line 9, after "in" insert ", or not theretofore within two years having been convicted of a."

Page 2, line 9, strike out "the" and insert "such."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do not think an exception should be made by passing a bill with Senate amendments without some explanation and debate. I think the gentleman should make a statement to the House showing the purport of these amendments, especially as this is a prohibition bill.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I will state that the Senate amendments do not in any way change the purport of the bill. They merely make a change in the language, which the Senate felt made the bill more readable. For instance, one of the amendments is to strike out the word "where" and insert the words "in the production of which." One of them is to strike out the word "unlawful" and insert the word "unlawfully." Other amendments by the Senate are to strike out the word "of," to insert the words "or not theretofore within two years having been convicted of a," to strike out "The" and insert "such."

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not think that even an arrant dry would object to those amendments and, as a representative of the liberal side, I will certainly not object.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MORTON D. HULL. Reserving the right to object, just what does this bill do in its amended form?

Mr. DYER. The bill is to create some petty offenses under the prohibition enforcement act which are now carried as felonies under the Jones-Stalker Act, and this bill will make it unnecessary to take such petty cases to the grand jury.

Mr. MICHENER. As a matter of fact, the amendments are not material, so far as the bill which passed the House is concerned.

Mr. DYER. They do not affect the bill as it passed the House.

Mr. MICHENER. It is simply a question of better language.

Mr. DYER. In the minds of the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. SPARKS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is not this bill a part of the program that was recommended by the Attorney General?

Mr. DYER. It is.

Mr. SPARKS. And the Law Enforcement Commission?

Mr. DYER. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendments were agreed to.

#### DROUGHT RELIEF

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 447), with Senate amendments, disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I take it this is the so-called relief bill?

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I have objected for two days to this bill going to conference. My objection is interposed in absolute good faith, because this bill introduces a novel proposition in the matter of food distribution, and it will be impossible to explain to the American people why food should be distributed in certain sections of the country, utterly disregarding the needs in other sections of the country, particularly in the cities, where distress is general and universal.

It has been suggested by some that nothing is accomplished by objecting; that the status is the same whether the bill remains in the House or goes to conference. I can not agree with this. I think those of us who are seeking to look after the interests of the people we represent have the same obligations and owe the same duty to them that other gentlemen owe to their constituents in the rural districts, and I think we may with all propriety invoke every possible parliamentary procedure in order to achieve the purpose we have in mind.

Now, if the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Wood] will either consent to let the membership of this House decide whether or not this relief should extend to the people of the cities as well as to the farmers, I am willing to abide by the decision of the House. There is precedent for this and the rules of the House will permit of such consideration. If, on the other hand, the gentleman from Indiana will assure the House that he will in conference make every honest effort to have the food-relief provision apply to the cities, I will take his word on it and I shall not object.

Mr. WOOD. I will say to the gentleman that if this bill is sent to conference the conferees, I assume, will attempt to agree upon something. As far as I am concerned, I am willing to state my position, but it is only my individual position. I am opposed to the \$15,000,000 for food for any section of the country. [Applause.]

Mr. LaGUARDIA. May I ask the gentleman this question: If any food relief is to be granted, the gentleman from Indiana naturally sees the justness of my position?

Mr. WOOD. I will say to the gentleman I do not deny there is justness in his position, but I am opposed to this business in principle, and it is something that will live to haunt us as long as there is a Congress if it is ever adopted. However, this may be said. There are organizations in the cities for the purpose of taking care of those in distress or in need of food and clothing and fuel. There is no such organization throughout the country, and the Red Cross has been devoting all of its time practically to taking care of the needs of the small towns and the country districts where this distress exists. The reports that come to me from all over the country show that in a most remarkable degree the organizations in the cities and towns have taken care of whatever distress may be found there.

Mr. SABATH. If the gentleman will yield, is it not a fact that the committees that have been appointed by governors and mayors in the large centers are unable to cope with the present situation, and has not the gentleman heard that this is the situation?

Mr. WOOD. No.

Mr. SABATH. And that they are short of funds and can not properly meet the needs?

Mr. WOOD. The very reverse is true, and I have in my pocket, and I presume all of the other gentlemen here have read the statement, that this affair that was staged out in Arkansas for the purpose of creating consternation and confusion and trouble all over the country is without any foundation in fact, and the governor has repudiated the whole thing and says that they are amply able to take care of their own people out there.

Mr. SABATH. What does the gentleman say about Colonel Wood's statement that appears in to-day's paper showing that now 5,000,000 people are out of employment and that conditions are as bad now as they ever were?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I would like to hear what the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. PARKS] has to say about this repudiation by the Governor of Arkansas.

Mr. PARKS. Mr. Speaker, I have a telegram in my pocket which I propose to read from the governor, and also a statement by about 100 people, saying the half has not been told. The governor absolutely repudiates the statement in the Baltimore Sun and states it was not any preconceived movement, but was a movement of starving people in the vicinity of this town, which is in one of the richest sections of the country.

Mr. WOOD. That is absolutely incorrect.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. And they were native American farmers and not affiliated with any radical organization.

Mr. PARKS. They never heard of a radical organization in their lives.

Mr. BLANTON. If the gentleman will yield, if this were a bill to grant relief to his urban population in New York, what would the gentleman think of us who represent rural districts stopping his bill until we also got relief? Why not let us provide this urgent, necessary relief and then let us help the gentleman pass his relief proposal?



Mr. SABATH. Why not put both of them in one measure?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. In reply to that statement, I will say that I have served in this House for 12 years. I have voted for every farm relief bill that has been presented to this House. I have done this consistently and every Member on that side of the House knows it. I was for the equalization fee, and I am still for it. I have voted for every drought-relief measure and for every flood-relief measure all the way through. Now, it seems to me my batting average is such that I can say, "We are either in on this or else I am going to invoke every honorable, parliamentary procedure to protect the rights of the people I represent."

Mr. BLANTON. Then you would have the rural men starve in order to get something for the urban men?

Mr. McKEOWN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. McKEOWN. Is it not a fair solution of the proposition to put this fund in the hands of the Red Cross, with half of it for the urban people and half for the rural population?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. I will agree to that. I will agree to anything that is reasonable.

Mr. SABATH. That would be fair.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Wood]?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. I object, Mr. Speaker.

#### THE ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 15593) making appropriations for the military and nonmilitary activities of the War Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes; and pending that I ask unanimous consent that general debate continue without limit to-day, one-half of the time to be controlled by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS] and one-half by myself.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California moves that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 15593, the Army appropriation bill; and pending that asks that general debate continue without limit, one-half to be controlled by himself and one-half by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS]. Is there objection?

Mr. COLLINS. Reserving the right to object, the gentleman has no objection to running along to-day without any limit of time?

Mr. BARBOUR. None whatever.

Mr. COLLINS. And to-morrow we can make some agreement in fixing a limit.

Mr. BARBOUR. That is entirely agreeable.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Will there be any reading of the bill to-day?

Mr. BARBOUR. Not so far as we can tell, unless some prospective speakers fail to use their time. If all the time is used that has been asked for, there will be no reading of the bill to-day.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Can not there be some understanding to that effect?

Mr. BARBOUR. So far as I am concerned there will be no reading of the bill to-day.

Mr. JAMES of Michigan. I would like to be assured that the bill will not be read to-day.

Mr. BARBOUR. I will agree to that.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. TILSON in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I yield 40 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. PARKER].

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen of the committee, I have reduced to writing what I wish to say and I shall decline to yield to anyone until I have finished my statement. I wish to make a statement in defense of the attitude of the President in advocating the consolidation of the four eastern railway systems. I wish to point out to the House what is proposed to be done.

May I call your attention to five maps which are before you? There is one map for each system as it would be in accordance with the agreement reported by the Associated Press, as having been submitted in a letter to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Each system map shows in black the lines at present owned and operated, and in broken lines the lines which, under the agreement, the system would seek the approval of the commission to acquire. A fifth map shows each of the four systems, as they would exist, if the application of the carriers involved should be granted by the commission.

#### CHART NO. 1.—PENNSYLVANIA SYSTEM

Let me call your attention to the map of the Pennsylvania system, being Chart No. 1, which shows in black lines its present operated main track, and in broken lines the trackage to be acquired; note the strategic position it has, running as it does from the eastern seaboard west by the shortest route to points across the mountains. You will see that it is getting very little within its present territory. It is being permitted to go southeast to the Virginia ports, in competition with the Chesapeake & Ohio, and to go west in competition with existing systems.

#### CHART NO. 2.—NEW YORK CENTRAL SYSTEM

The New York Central, being Chart No. 2, is the other very powerful system in the East. The heavy black lines show the trackage now operated and the broken lines the trackage it would acquire, which shows that it would take over the Lackawanna, letting it into coal fields not now reached by its lines. Otherwise, the New York Central under this arrangement gets practically nothing. I want to emphasize that the two great systems, the New York Central and the Pennsylvania, are getting practically nothing within their sphere of influence.

#### CHART NO. 3.—BALTIMORE & OHIO SYSTEM

Turning now to the map of the Baltimore & Ohio system, being Chart No. 3, the black heavy lines show the trackage now operated and the broken lines the trackage to be acquired, which clearly shows how vital the proposed acquisitions are to that system, in order to bring it to an equality particularly with the Pennsylvania, and to give it an outlet to Buffalo and Rochester on the north, in New York Central and Nickel Plate territory. As Prof. William Z. Ripley points out in his article in World's Work for October, 1930, the Baltimore & Ohio is getting a direct route east to New York. At Butler in western Pennsylvania a swing far south to Washington sets in under their present system. Under the proposed acquisitions, by piecing together portions of two little properties, and by then taking trackage or paralleling a few miles of the Pennsylvania, Williamsport is reached. Thence, the Reading and the Central Railroad of New Jersey carry on almost straight into New York. By acquisition of these properties, the line of the Baltimore & Ohio from Chicago to New York is shortened more than 80 miles. This permits the Baltimore & Ohio to enter the heart of both Pennsylvania and New York Central territory. It permits it to haul thousands of trainloads of freight over this much-shortened route.

#### CHART NO. 4.—CHESAPEAKE & OHIO-NICKEL PLATE SYSTEM

On the Chesapeake & Ohio-Nickel Plate system, being Chart No. 4, the heavy black lines show the trackage now operated and the broken lines the trackage to be acquired and to what extent that system will be strengthened



in the East in competition with both the New York Central and the Pennsylvania. As the Baltimore & Ohio is permitted to invade the heart of the Pennsylvania territory from the south, the Chesapeake & Ohio-Nickel Plate system is permitted to invade the Pennsylvania and New York Central territory from the north. It is also given, over the Chicago & Eastern Illinois, a western connection into St. Louis and other points in competition with the Baltimore & Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York Central. It will be seen that these allocations are necessary to enable the Chesapeake & Ohio-Nickel Plate, as is the case with the Baltimore & Ohio, to compete on an equality with the two great systems, the New York Central and the Pennsylvania. It also more evenly balances its competition with the Baltimore & Ohio.

CHART NO. 5.—COMBINED FOUR SYSTEMS

Another map, being Chart No. 5, shows the competition between the four systems. This chart does not include any trackage rights nor any of the hundreds of short lines which, under orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission, would be allocated to one or another of the four systems. A mere glance at this map is sufficient to show how extensive and complete is the competition. Instead of lessening competition, the map shows that it is not only retained but it is more evenly distributed throughout the eastern region. As examples of the retention of such competition, permit me to call attention to the fact that the following cities will be served by all four of the proposed systems: New York, Chicago, Toledo, Cleveland, Buffalo, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Louisville, Indianapolis, and Detroit. The other large cities are served by from two to three of the systems. When trackage rights are finally agreed upon and approved by the commission and the short lines are finally allocated, practically every town of any consequence in the origin or distribution of traffic will be served by two or more of these systems.

The President of the United States has announced to the country that the railway executives in the East have agreed to cooperate with a view to presenting to the Interstate Commerce Commission applications to acquire certain properties and for approval of certain systems as being in the public interest.

This announcement should have been received in every quarter with the greatest satisfaction. But instead of the universal acclaim which its reception deserved, certain individuals began to make violent accusations against the President and to denounce the proposals to come to the Interstate Commerce Commission with applications to be reviewed as to whether or not their approval would serve the public interest. Some of these charges were in language so intemperate as even to suggest to a casual reader that the consolidation of railroads is something novel in this country.

Let us turn for a few moments to the facts. The Congress of the United States in 1920 enacted the transportation act, calling for a plan for consolidating all the railroads into a limited number of systems, and authorizing from time to time the acquisition of control of one railroad by another with the approval of the commission after the commission had found such acquisition to be in the public interest. Why did the Congress pass the consolidation provisions included in section 5 of the transportation act? Some of the Members of the House are familiar with the reasons calling for such action, but by way of refreshing the memories of some others I ask your indulgence while I briefly review some well-known history.

The Interstate Commerce Commission came to your Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in 1920 and asked for this provision placing consolidations under the supervision of the commission as an agent of the Congress. They gave a number of cogent reasons for their position. Among them was the plight of the weak railroads. The spokesman for the commission was the late Edgar E. Clark. You will remember that he was at one time vice president of the Order of Railway Conductors, and was one of the ablest men to head the organization of conductors. He also was one of the ablest commissioners who has served that

body in all its history. He said, referring to the weak railroads:

I have personally observed through a good many years of more or less familiarity with railroad conditions in this country a great many instances of a property struggling along in an independent and separate existence, unable to earn any profit and barely able to earn operating expenses, and therefore of necessity furnishing a very poor service with very poor equipment on a very poor railroad taken in by a large and strong system and promptly developed into a good railroad furnishing good service, and I think that the public interest was thereby served. (Senate hearings on transportation act, 65th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 1, p. 2.)

When the Senate committee submitted its report through its chairman, the late Albert B. Cummins, he said, among other things:

The writer of this report is firmly convinced that when the Government assumed the operation of the railways they were, taken as a whole, earning all they should be permitted to earn; but in the inevitable distribution of these earnings among the various railway companies the railways which carried 30 per cent of the traffic were earning so little that they could not by any economy or good management sustain themselves. Nevertheless, it is unthinkable that these highways of commerce shall be abandoned, and some system must be devised not only for their continuance but for their betterment and growth. Government ownership would solve the problem, but it is the judgment of the committee that Government operation is attended with so many disadvantages, notably in the increased cost of operation, that this plan must be discarded.

There is but one other solution: It is consolidation. Here two policies present themselves. The first, complete consolidation into one ownership; second, consolidation into comparatively few competitive systems. The first has some advantages over the second, but it has some disadvantages, and the disadvantages outweigh, in the opinion of the committee, the advantages. (Senate Report 304, 66th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 13-14.)

The chairman of your Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the Hon. John J. Esch, in speaking to this House, said:

In our opinion, the interests of the public will be better served where the consolidations are voluntarily entered into upon approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission and where such consolidation or merger is in the interest of better service to the public or economy of operation or otherwise of advantage to the convenience or commerce of the people.

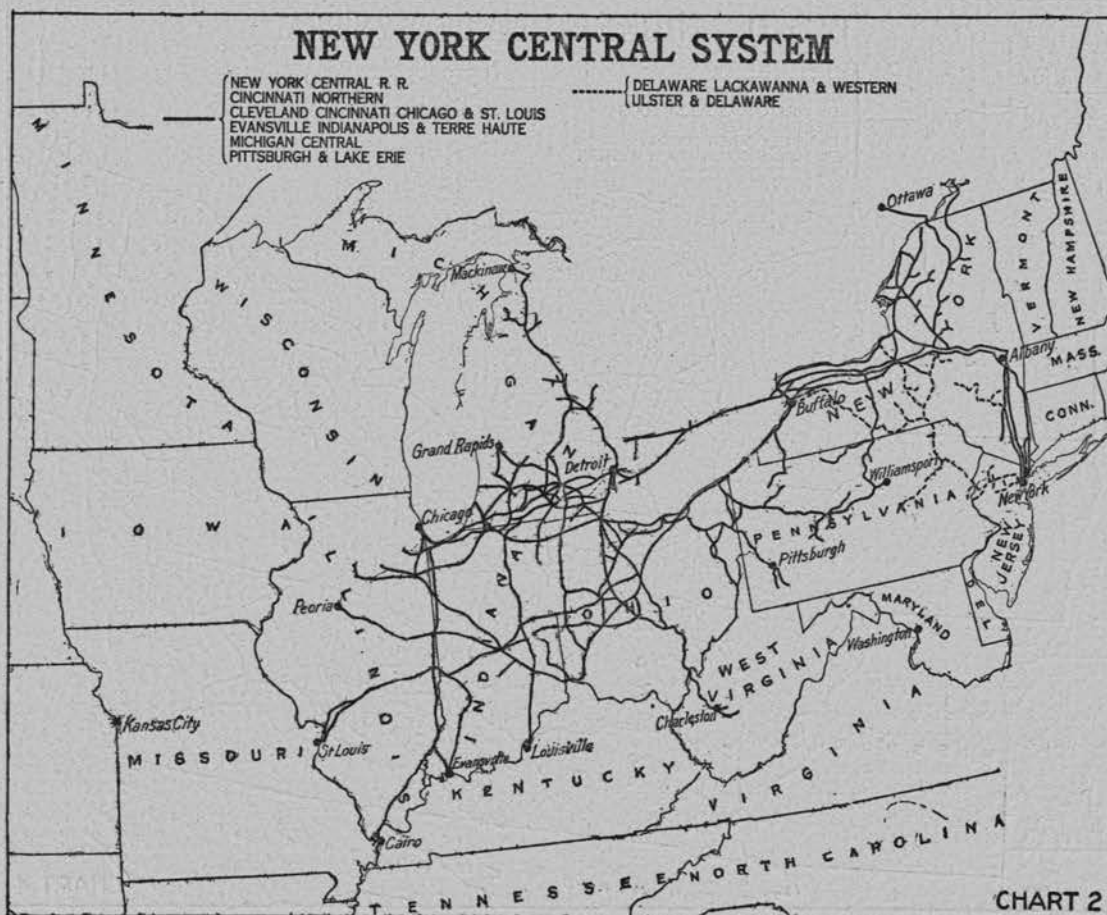
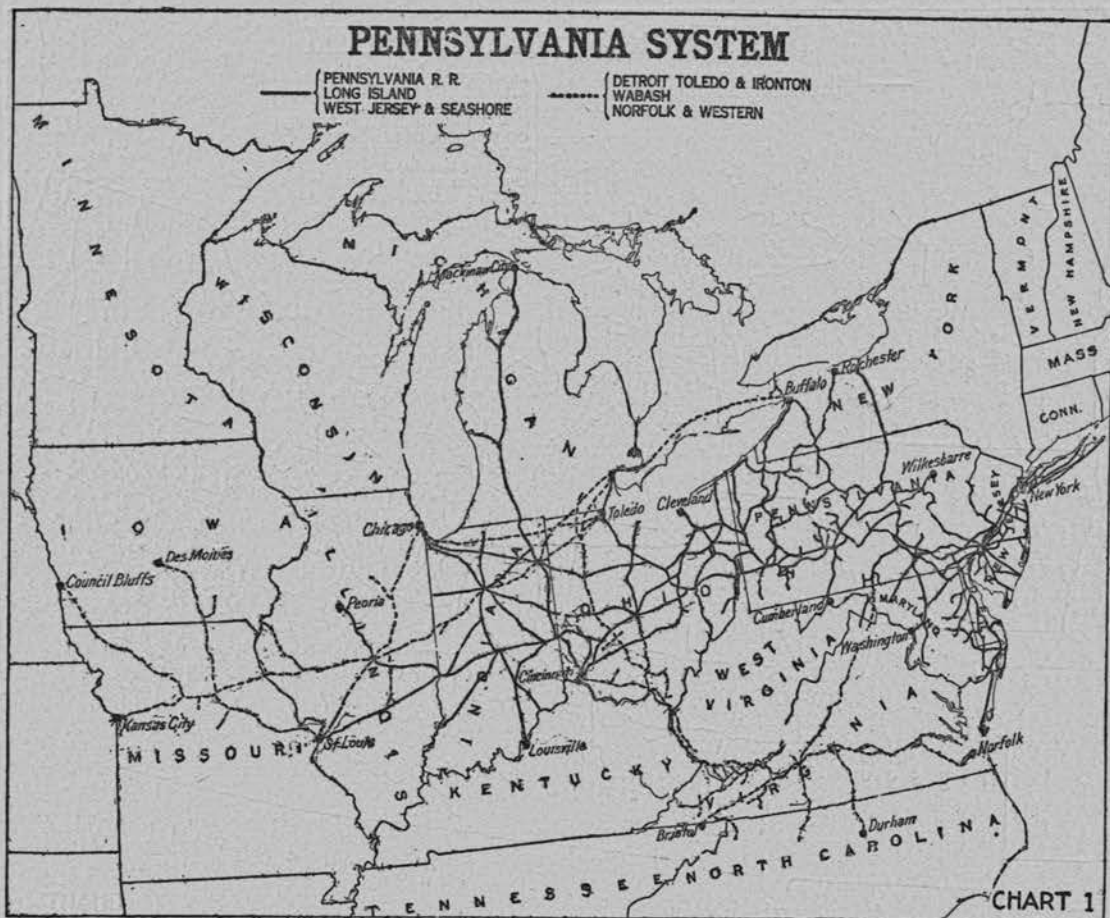
Under such a plan the problem of weak roads, when taken in connection with other provisions of the pending bill, will in a large measure be capable of solution. (House Report 456, 66th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 6-7.)

From these references it is clear that the Congress adopted a policy of consolidating the railroads of the continental United States into a few well-balanced systems after the most mature thought, the most careful deliberation. That is to say, the Congress abandoned the policy of unregulated and unsupervised unification and adopted the policy of regulating future consolidations of railroads with a view to fostering well-balanced systems of relatively equal competitive strength and relatively equal opportunity. It was believed that such an arrangement of our railway properties would bring a much more adequate and satisfactory service to the American people than would a hodgepodge of miscellaneous systems of unequal strength and of unequal opportunity. Before the act to regulate commerce was so amended there could be any sort of acquisition of control by anybody. To-day, if one carrier acquires control of another in any manner, it must convince the commission that such acquisition is in the public interest.

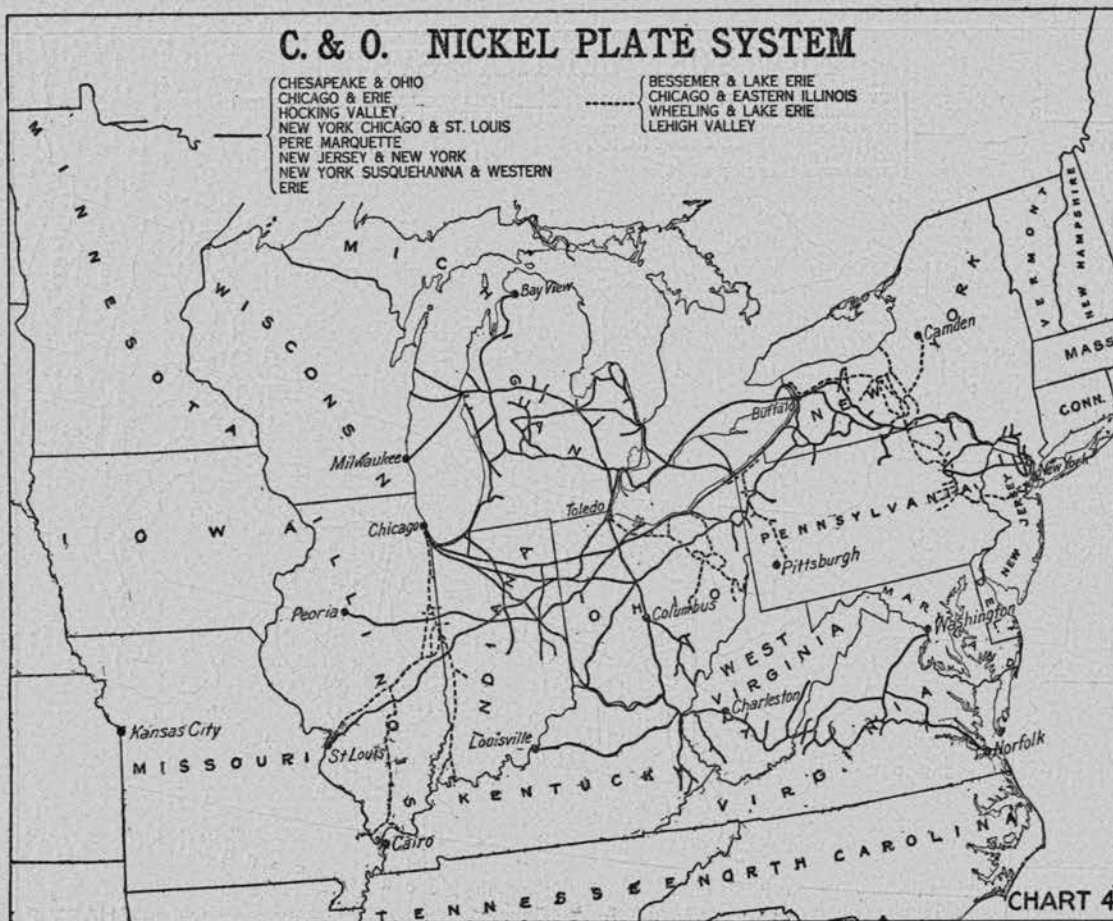
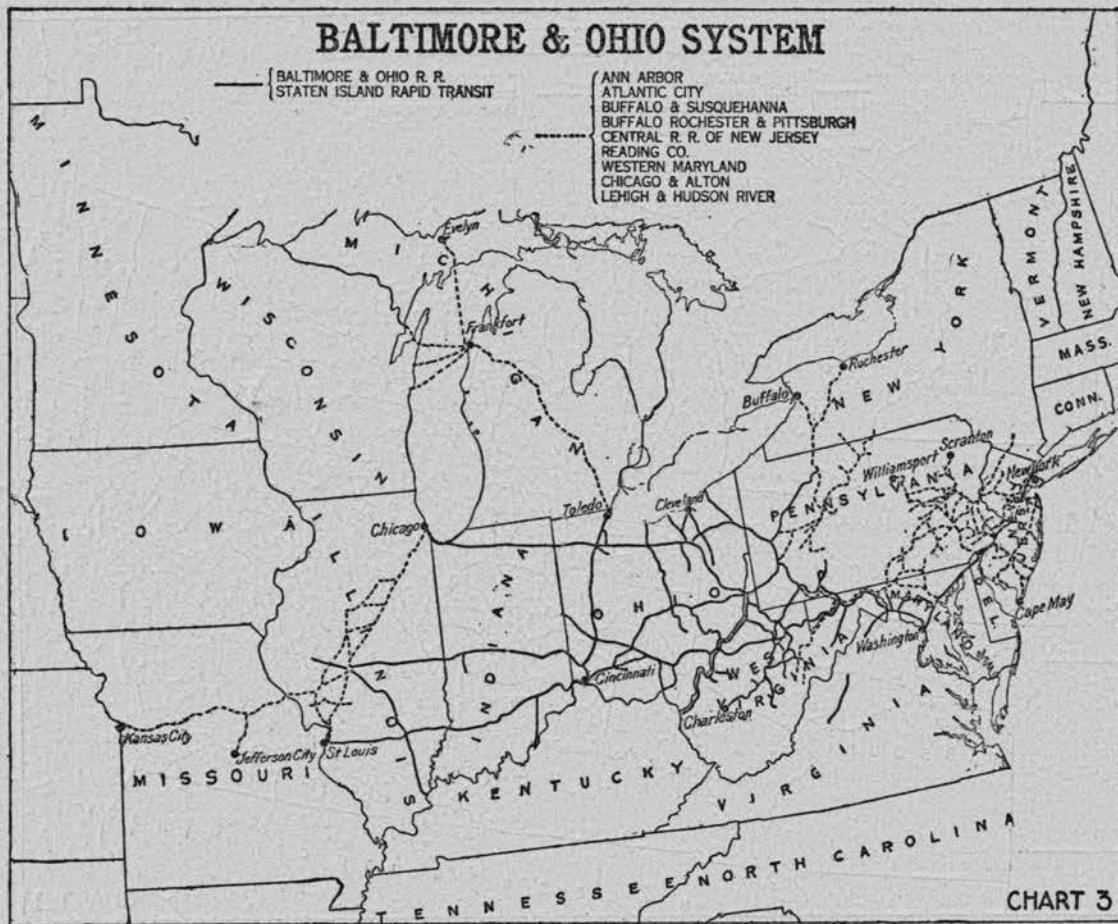
Within the past 10 years, under the supervision of the commission in administering the consolidation provisions of the act to regulate commerce, as amended, there has been great progress; first, in simplifying the financial structure of railways; second, in rounding out systems so as to make them more stable; and, third, in preserving service on lines which otherwise would have had to be abandoned. Thousands of miles of these weak lines, under the supervision of the commission, have been taken over by one strong system or another.

In the State of Texas the Orient Railroad, which in 1920 was a streak of rust becoming increasingly dim toward the Mexican border, is now a well-operated unit within the Santa Fe system. A few years ago the people along that line were waiving local taxes in order to enable the Orient to

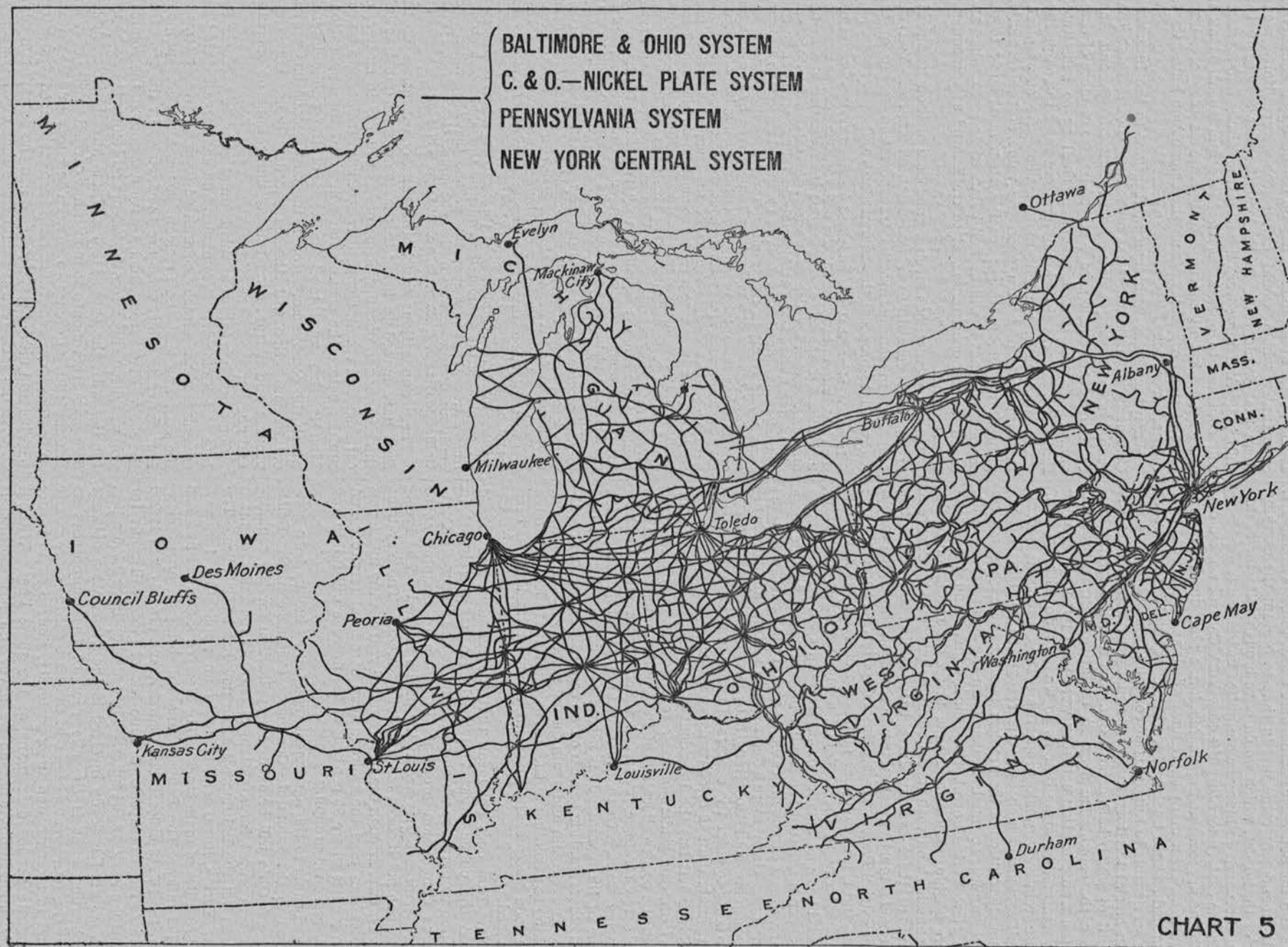












### CHART 5



run some sort of trains. To-day those people are prospering in the assurance that they have a permanent and adequate railway service. Under the antitrust laws the Central Pacific and the Southern Pacific were about to be prized apart. This amendment came just in time to prevent the carrying out of that order, which would have brought disaster to untold thousands in many communities in the West.

In the eastern territory the New York Central worked out, with the approval of the commission, a plan under which it acquired a great many short lines which as investments were regarded as both weak and worthless, but which as railroads are serviceable to hundreds of communities.

In official territory there were many weak properties the plight of which baffled both Congress and the commission. When the commission drew its tentative plan, as provided in the transportation act, they were hard put to it to make any reasonable suggestion as to what to do with some of those relatively weak properties. They proposed several small systems, which everyone recognized as being an inadequate solution of the problem, because these systems were in themselves so much weaker than the three great giants, the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore & Ohio. Within a decade, under the regulation of the commission and with its approval, as provided by Congress, many of these systems have been unified and there has emerged a fourth great system in the East, the Chesapeake & Ohio-Nickel Plate. To-day, instead of having three big systems and a great number of weak properties, we have four great systems in the East and a much smaller number of short lines and smaller properties. In fact, such progress has been made that the smaller properties still outside these four systems can be allocated so as to round out the systems and make them more effective competitors among themselves, more equal in strength by reason of equalizing opportunity to enter the centers of traffic, and certainly easier to regulate than 40 or 50 roads would be.

Now, what has the President of the United States done? He found the leaders of these four systems unable to agree as to the proper allocation of the smaller properties. There are a few strategic properties which two or more of these systems want. There are several weak properties which none of them want. It is a case of some wanting the best and others wanting to wish off on competitors the less profitable lines. Again and again during recent years negotiations looking to a solution of these problems have failed. Through the good offices of the President, an understanding has been reached.

Now, that does not mean that the President has passed upon the public interest involved. He has merely set in motion conferences which will bring to the Interstate Commerce Commission proposals for them to examine as to whether or not they are in the public interest. The President has not blocked out any four systems. These systems have grown through the past hundred years. Any intelligent person can take the railroad map of official territory and can predict where 90 per cent of the mileage will fall in any well-reasoned grouping.

According to the agreement reported as having been conveyed to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Baltimore & Ohio will bring in an application for the commission's approval for a system of, say, 11,156 miles of main track; yet the Baltimore & Ohio now has 5,689 miles. The New York Central will bring in an application for, say, 12,920 miles of main track. The New York Central now has 11,793 miles. The Pennsylvania will bring in an application for 16,548 miles. The Pennsylvania already has 11,235 miles. The Chesapeake & Ohio-Nickel Plate will apply for control of, say, 12,554 miles. They already have 9,506 miles.

Now, what is really involved in the preparation of these applications? It is the allocation of these properties so that the four great systems in the East will be more nearly equal in strength and in opportunity, and so as to assure adequate service over many of the short lines. Without these applications what do we have? Suppose nothing is done, what is the result? We still have four great systems in the East. If you call a big railroad system a Franken-

stein, there are already four of them in eastern territory, but at present these systems are of unequal size and are not equal as to opportunities. They are not of as equal strength as the public would like. They do not have that equality of opportunity which would assure the competition among them that would bring in the end the best service to the shippers. And moreover, if left alone, these four systems will continue to operate as they are and about 50 other little railroads will continue to operate as they are, until some of them can obtain from the commission authority to suspend operations.

When they come with their applications to the Interstate Commerce Commission, what must they show? First, that each system is well balanced within itself. Second, that each important traffic area is served by two or more of these systems. Third, that each system shall be so constituted that these systems can employ uniform rates to competitive traffic, and under efficient management give substantially the same rate of return upon the value of the respective properties. That is to say, each system must show to the commission that it will be well balanced as to earnings and credit, as to opportunities, as to traffic, and as to competitive strength.

The commission has given a great deal of thought already as to what constitutes a well-balanced system. You will find that in considering the transportation set-up of the Nickel Plate proposal the commission said:

It seems clear that the proposed unification is a step along the right lines in carrying out the policy of Congress, as expressed in section 5 of the act, of encouraging the formation of a limited number of systems, which as it affects the eastern territory, outside of New England, and considering the railway situation in that district to-day, dominated as it is by three long-established systems, would result in nearly all of the principal producing and consuming centers of the territory being served by two or more, and in many instances by all, of the limited number of systems. Each system would ramify throughout the territory. Each would have adequate access to sources of fuel supply as well as participation to a large extent in the commercial distribution of coal. Each would serve at least two of the five North Atlantic ports and have adequate access to lower lake ports. Mileage, property investment, gross earnings, and net railway operating income would be more nearly equalized than is possible in the case of the present number of systems, or even the number proposed in the tentative plan. The systems would more nearly approach an equality of opportunity to serve the public throughout the territory, to provide adequate facilities, and to make necessary extensions from time to time with reasonable expectation of securing additional traffic. A greater amount of actual and effective competition in service may be assured by a limited number of well-articulated systems than by a greater number of systems less complete.

Other meritorious groupings of these carriers might be proposed, but in viewing the grouping presented in this application strictly from a transportation standpoint, we find that the proposed acquisitions of control are in the public interest. (Nickel Plate Unification; I. C. C. Reports, vol. 105, pp. 439-440.)

These applications which the railway executives of the East have agreed to bring to the commission must satisfy the commission on all such points as equality in matters of earnings and credit, competitive strength, traffic, and opportunities before the commission will grant the applications. That is, they must meet the tests of the public interest which the commission through the past decade has worked out in connection with the many orders it has issued approving and disapproving railway unifications of one kind and another.

Some one has said that this is an attempt to overbear the Interstate Commerce Commission and has suggested that the commission has already committed itself to five systems in the East and that the President comes along and proposes four systems. Now, what are the facts? In the report on the Nickel Plate, from which I have just quoted, the commission was discussing a fourth system and comparing its opportunities with the three great systems already in existence. The press from month to month has carried stories of negotiations with reference to eastern territory and again and again these four companies have been mentioned as the four possible and ultimate systems. When the commission came to write its final plan it found these four great systems in the East and found them still in disagreement among themselves as to what each would ask for and what each would be



willing in fairness to have in a final consolidation. Since we have provided for voluntary consolidation, the commission did not see fit, in the absence of applications before it, definitely to allocate to these four great contenders the very properties over which they could foresee there would be conflicting petitions to the commission. It seems to me that they very properly put the major of those properties together, into a fifth system for such future disposition as the developments and the facts might require. Anyone reading the commission's report in connection with its final plan is impressed by their care to state that they are retaining an open mind as to any application that may come to them.

Those who are accusing the President of the United States of usurping the authority of the commission should be specific and state what systems he has approved. He has not approved anything. He has not announced any systems. He is not concerned with the details of specific applications. He is concerned that there should be action where delay may bring impaired railway service. In suggesting action he has merely brought the railway executives to do what the country has been wanting them to do for 10 years; that is, to come to the commission with their applications and ask the commission to pass upon them in the public interest.

The President has been accused of dictating to the commission, and it is openly declared that he will influence those whom he has appointed. There is not one scintilla of evidence sustaining this unfair and unjustified accusation. Not having any preconception as to what properties should go into what system, how could the President of the United States be interested in the particular allocation of any individual short line or smaller railway property? The railroads of the East are holding up investments of vast sums because they do not know what the outcome as to final unification may be. They can not know that until they themselves come to the commission and ask authority to make definite acquisitions. Heretofore they have not been coming. Each has been afraid of the other apparently. Now it has been brought about that they all agree to come and to put an end to this delay and this uncertainty, which is tying up hundreds of millions of dollars of credit which otherwise would be released to buy materials, to employ men, to make our transportation systems more adequate and more serviceable.

The accusation against the railroads has been made that they have engaged in high finance and find themselves in great distress, and that the President is pulling their chestnuts out of the fire. Now, what are the facts? These people who are so free with their generalities decline to furnish us with their evidence of such high finance. They do not fur-

nish us with a single case of a railroad which has dealt in any speculative enterprise. They know that every bond and every share of stock that has been issued by any railroad within the past 10 years has been submitted to the Interstate Commerce Commission for its scrutiny and approval. There has been no high finance among the railroads. On the other hand, the railroads have invested with the approval of the commission here in eastern territory—that is, the eastern district and the Pocahontas region—within the past 10 years \$3,638,977,000. This great investment of more than three and a half billion dollars has been the gross capital expenditure from 1921 to 1930, inclusive. It does not include outlays by switching and terminal companies.

They have invested this in materials, in labor, and in equipment, and these outlays have helped to keep mills and mines going and have resulted in a great improvement of the transportation systems. But for the differences with reference to the proposals and the uncertainty of the final outcome of unification in the East several hundred millions more would have been spent. Arrangements have tentatively been made for this capital. It should be released. Now is the one time of all times to set that capital free and let it go into the improvement of our railway properties and toward the employment of tens of thousands of workers who otherwise might be idle.

At this point I want to insert in the RECORD a table which shows in each of the four cases for the existing systems and for the proposed acquisitions the average miles of road operated, the investment in road and equipment, the total operating revenues, the total operating expenses, the net railway operating income, the revenue ton-miles, and the revenue passenger-miles for the year 1929.

(Table printed as Exhibit A.)

I honor the President of the United States that he has understood this situation; that he has seen that it is against the public interest to have further and continued delay and uncertainties in the railroad situation in the East; and that he has urged these railway executives to go to the Interstate Commerce Commission, where they should have gone several years ago. The Interstate Commerce Commission is free and unhampered. I do not believe that they will be influenced by the Executive or by criticism from Capitol Hill. I have confidence that they will demonstrate the high qualities of judgment and of character which the President of the United States believed they possessed when they were appointed and which Members of the United States Senate acknowledged when they voted to confirm the appointments. [Applause.]

#### EXHIBIT A

Mileage, investment, revenues, expenses, and traffic, calendar year ended December 31, 1929

Roads	Average miles of road operated	Investment in road and equipment	Total operating revenues	Total operating expenses	Net railway operating income	Revenue ton-miles	Revenue passenger-miles
Baltimore & Ohio	5,666.43	\$894,281,621	\$245,418,776	\$180,570,034	\$49,184,110	20,657,869,061	728,586,197
Now operated—							
Staten Island Rapid Transit	23.54	12,780,677	2,637,897	1,892,348	460,515	6,955,478	79,088,478
Subtotal	5,689.97	907,062,298	248,056,673	182,462,382	49,644,625	20,664,824,539	807,674,675
To be acquired—							
Ann Arbor	293.86	24,356,722	6,244,153	4,567,993	1,042,452	582,728,551	6,458,292
Atlantic City	163.90	15,550,114	3,988,454	3,353,831	130,242	43,560,368	142,931,186
Buffalo & Susquehanna	253.54	11,238,653	1,767,549	1,615,135	344,329	149,112,000	310,000
Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburgh	601.97	71,648,221	17,811,818	14,577,099	2,902,763	1,931,631,593	28,819,547
Central Railroad of New Jersey	692.71	202,390,219	58,136,940	42,218,296	9,367,044	2,827,472,385	469,750,125
Reading Co.	1,459.94	419,334,972	97,196,954	75,929,795	17,196,521	6,873,890,612	300,596,445
Western Maryland	875.18	153,790,277	18,985,707	12,687,143	5,824,583	2,128,838,390	14,182,868
Chicago & Alton	1,028.49	188,304,482	28,728,353	22,023,501	3,278,827	1,925,825,200	178,694,544
Lehigh & Hudson River	96.60	7,300,980	2,649,346	1,777,707	477,609	323,412,200	461,000
Subtotal	5,466.19	1,063,914,640	235,509,273	178,750,500	40,303,886	16,786,461,359	1,172,204,007
Grand total, Baltimore & Ohio system	11,156.16	1,970,976,938	483,565,946	361,212,882	89,948,511	37,451,285,898	1,979,878,682
Chesapeake & Ohio	2,732.60	429,733,036	129,779,115	85,514,858	37,881,633	19,025,062,161	189,087,983
Now operated—							
Hocking Valley	348.57	61,120,500	20,888,860	12,602,729	6,035,440	2,928,175,366	19,944,813
New York, Chicago & St. Louis	1,690.54	232,655,200	66,385,456	39,896,885	10,471,999	5,291,371,000	70,070,159
Pere Marquette	2,241.70	161,692,460	48,468,439	34,345,301	9,273,417	3,540,667,987	97,545,230
Erie	2,046.56	508,226,617	113,610,598	88,750,517	19,084,600	9,037,744,316	582,251,733
Chicago & Erie	269.56	89,091,790	15,619,839	8,880,399	2,377,438	1,732,904,554	22,350,149

<sup>1</sup> Deficiency.

Mileage, investment, revenues, expenses, and traffic, calendar year ended December 31, 1929—Continued

Roads	Average miles of road operated	Investment in road and equipment	Total operating revenues	Total operating expenses	Net railway operating income	Revenue ton-miles	Revenue passenger-miles
Chesapeake & Ohio—Continued.							
Now operated—Continued.							
New Jersey & New York	45.72	\$3,661,667	\$1,542,907	\$1,354,524	\$190,092	4,617,276	107,699,940
New York, Susquehanna & Western	131.47	38,941,387	5,057,566	3,754,182	647,256	114,698,911	45,347,282
Subtotal	9,506.72	1,475,131,696	391,352,780	275,099,395	85,511,691	41,675,241,571	1,134,297,283
To be acquired—							
Bessemer & Lake Erie	227.75	63,114,361	17,912,973	9,847,668	7,444,665	2,427,645,593	3,475,242
Chicago & Eastern Illinois	946.24	88,788,098	25,398,274	19,693,096	2,200,032	2,104,170,474	123,245,486
Wheeling & Lake Erie	511.60	93,138,599	21,335,222	14,693,178	5,115,433	1,863,674,433	8,878,328
Lehigh Valley	1,361.76	270,128,015	71,722,735	53,501,134	12,938,556	5,144,619,546	222,438,119
Subtotal	3,047.35	515,169,073	136,369,204	97,735,106	27,707,689	11,540,110,046	358,037,175
Grand total, Chesapeake & Ohio-Nickel Plate system	12,554.07	1,990,300,739	527,721,984	372,834,501	113,219,377	53,215,351,617	1,492,334,458
Pennsylvania Railroad	10,511.81	2,374,932,888	682,702,931	493,150,592	133,139,626	48,991,172,739	4,002,210,159
Now operated:							
Long Island	404.11	131,394,852	41,326,194	27,734,679	8,707,943	174,496,693	1,893,237,894
West Jersey & Seashore	369.47	30,932,663	10,435,900	7,274,769	1,878,200	166,903,024	228,258,581
Subtotal	11,285.39	2,537,260,403	734,464,925	528,160,040	143,725,769	49,332,572,456	6,123,706,634
To be acquired—							
Detroit, Toledo & Ironton	499.34	49,383,353	14,057,420	8,065,030	4,501,659	855,031,284	1,238,309
Wabash	2,523.82	292,774,414	76,632,974	56,275,423	13,251,591	6,107,472,314	240,316,280
Norfolk & Western	2,240.09	453,805,454	117,631,751	66,051,247	44,208,196	16,730,308,371	151,545,519
Subtotal	5,263.25	795,963,221	208,322,145	130,391,700	61,961,446	23,692,811,969	393,100,108
Grand total, Pennsylvania system	16,548.64	3,333,223,624	942,787,070	658,551,740	205,687,215	73,025,384,425	6,516,806,742
New York Central Railroad	6,915.26	1,457,901,181	396,917,258	302,614,246	64,624,664	23,028,153,327	3,245,067,641
Now operated—							
Cincinnati Northern	244.23	9,114,419	3,340,769	2,590,171	883,240	570,791,904	1,069,754
Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis	2,398.96	326,091,354	91,981,900	69,624,283	15,920,794	8,375,176,222	423,429,596
Evansville, Indianapolis & Terre Haute	145.60	4,794,411	1,945,131	1,318,295	155,741	263,362,517	1,261,563
Michigan Central	1,858.34	248,983,555	94,718,966	64,865,394	21,898,377	4,563,484,392	563,770,812
Pittsburgh & Lake Erie	231.27	118,008,112	34,135,108	28,396,025	7,891,540	2,564,420,380	100,742,108
Subtotal	11,793.66	2,164,893,032	623,539,132	469,408,414	111,374,356	39,365,388,742	4,335,341,474
To be acquired—							
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western	998.42	316,531,799	81,743,222	57,719,910	17,508,587	4,582,184,244	615,598,245
Ulster & Delaware	128.88	6,164,715	1,094,104	957,825	32,347	22,983,595	3,562,868
Subtotal	1,127.30	322,696,514	82,837,326	58,677,735	17,540,934	4,605,167,839	619,161,113
Grand total, New York Central system	12,920.96	2,487,539,546	706,376,458	528,086,149	128,915,290	43,970,556,581	4,954,502,587

NOTE.—Does not include certain lines to be jointly assigned to the four systems.

Mr. HOCH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. HOCH. While the maps are still here, may I call attention to one feature to which the gentleman made no reference. He spoke of the allocation of some of these lines in the eastern end of the territory. I call attention to the western end, in which the part of the country from which I come is particularly interested. It will be seen from the maps that the gentleman has displayed that at the present time none of these eastern systems goes beyond the Mississippi River, whereas under this proposal two systems will go on west to Kansas City. The Pennsylvania Railroad system would be extended to Kansas City through the Wabash, and it will also be noted that the Baltimore & Ohio system would be extended to the West through the acquisition of the Chicago & Alton. I do not mean to discuss this proposal or to assume to pass judgment upon it, but I am sure that the section surrounding Kansas City, particularly the section west of Kansas City, is very greatly interested in that feature of the proposal. For many years they have objected to these eastern systems all breaking at the Mississippi River. This proposal gives two great systems an extension clear across the State of Missouri, so that both the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore & Ohio systems would operate directly into Kansas City. (See Chart No. 5.) On the face of it that would seem a fine improvement in the transportation situation for Kansas City and Kansas territory—two great competitive eastern systems serving them directly.

Mr. STOBBS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. STOBBS. The newspaper comment, as I understood it, said that in this proposed consolidation none of the New England roads have been included.

Mr. PARKER. No; they are not.

Mr. STOBBS. What is the status of that? Why is that left in that way?

Mr. PARKER. I assume, as the gentleman knows, that the New England governors can not agree among themselves as to what they want done. The gentleman must remember that consolidation is voluntary. We can not make anybody consolidate, and until they agree among themselves as to what they want, it is impossible to have consolidation.

Mr. STOBBS. And the roads marked in broken lines upon the map are what?

Mr. PARKER. They are the new acquisitions which they are going to apply for.

Mr. STOBBS. And the Interstate Commerce Commission passes on the desirability of that?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. STOBBS. And in addition to that all of these short lines, the weak lines, are not included in the picture at all?

Mr. PARKER. No. But the agreement is that every single short line shall be allocated to one or the other of the four great systems, and that if they can not agree on price, that is a matter to be arbitrated by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Mr. STOBBS. But they must be allocated?

Mr. PARKER. Yes. Several roads will never come in, because they are great money earners, but if there is a weak road that wants to come in, they must take it in.

Mr. BURTNESS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. BURTNESS. Does the application filed set out the fact that they have agreed to take in the so-called weak lines on an appraised valuation?

Mr. PARKER. That is my understanding, but I have not seen the application. I am very certain I am correct in that; I have been told it was so by a man who ought to know.



Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Is economy one of the reasons they want consolidation?

Mr. PARKER. Economy and service.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Is it not a fact that that economy will be largely effected by a release of men at a time like this?

Mr. PARKER. I have not had opportunity to talk with any of the executives. I have had, however, the benefit of a conversation with one of the chief executives that comes to me secondhand, but I believe it to be accurate. I refer to Mr. Willard, of the Baltimore & Ohio. Mr. Willard made the statement that not one single man would lose his job, and that as soon as possible and as soon as business got so that they were warranted in doing it, they would put back all of the men that had been employed before the slump.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Did he not also state that 80 per cent of the saving would be at the expense of the men who were laid off?

Mr. PARKER. As time goes on, as a man who is working to-day dies or is retired, it is quite probable that his place will not be filled. I am not at all sure that organized labor is going to be against this proposal.

Mr. ARENTZ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. ARENTZ. The gentleman's committee has had a number of hearings in the last few years relative to the buying up of control of railroads by great systems.

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. ARENTZ. And different solutions were proposed of the way that that could be brought about. You prohibited, for instance, the secret buying of control.

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. ARENTZ. And that these controls should be had only through public notice?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. ARENTZ. And through the acquisition of the short lines by the great systems of this proposal for four main systems, you would do away with the necessity of these railroads doing the thing that has been worrying the gentleman's committee.

Mr. PARKER. There would not be anything left for them to do. If this plan goes through, there will be no weak lines left in the eastern territory.

Mr. PARKS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. PARKS. Was it not the consensus of opinion of all of the railroad officials, the experts, who testified in the hearings on the consolidation of railroads bill before our committee, that economy in service would consist of curtailing the number of employees of the railroads, although they said that while they did not intend to discharge the employees at present, yet as fast as they retired or went out of service their places would not be filled?

Mr. PARKER. I have already made that statement in answer to the gentleman from Virginia.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. LEA].

Mr. LEA. Mr. Chairman, recently Senator NORRIS announced that at the beginning of the next Congress he would devote himself to securing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolishing the Electoral College and providing for the direct election of the President. The Senator did a good service to the country in calling attention to the defects of our Electoral College system. He did not announce, however, the details of the plan he will propose as a substitute for the existing system. Whether or not his proposal is a practical substitute for the existing plan of electing a President must be determined after its terms are known.

#### PRESENT SYSTEM UNRELIABLE

I deem the direct election of the President as highly desirable. As I view the matter, however, the question of whether or not the President is directly elected is not the most important phase of the problem. It is a fundamental right of the people of the United States to select their President. They should exercise that right by a method that is fair and inherently just. The only legitimate purpose of an election is to accomplish the will of the people. A method of election that part of the time operates to defeat the will of the people of the country in the selection of their President is a dangerous system.

Over 50 years ago Senator Morton, of Indiana, a great student of this problem, declared, in substance, that the wisdom of monarchies required an unimpeachable title to the crown, and that this Republic should change the Constitution so that it should be impossible for any man to reach the presidential chair who was not legitimately chosen thereto. He declared that under our constitutional method of electing the President contingencies may arise which may lead to "civil war and disaster." One of the greatest exponents of our Constitution has declared that the probable test of the ability of this Republic to endure will depend upon the justice of its method of selecting a President.

Ordinarily the Electoral College system has worked satisfactorily in the sense that the ultimate result in our presidential elections has generally been to accomplish political justice. Our history has, however, on several occasions clearly demonstrated that the Electoral College is not only crude and cumbersome, but is fraught with great ill consequences to the country. Our Constitution should be like a good ship. It is not seaworthy because it will sail the calm sea. Its real test is whether it will bear its passengers and cargo through the severest stress and storm to a safe harbor. The Electoral College serves for fair weather, but it has been historically demonstrated to be wholly inadequate for days of stress that will inevitably arise again in our country.

There is no particular evil of the electoral system that threatens us at this moment. That type of intellect that is never concerned about putting a roof on the house until the storm arrives, will be indifferent to this problem, if not actually oppose any effort to safeguard the situation in advance.

#### PROPOSALS STATED

I believe this a practical problem of government, and want to discuss it as such. I hope to convince you of three things:

First. That the direct election of the President, regardless of State lines, is unsuited to the practical situation of the country;

Second. That the Electoral College system is crude, unreliable, and a dangerous method on which to depend for the selection of our Presidents; and

Third. That we should abolish the Electoral College, directly elect the President, but preserve the relative strength of the States by retaining State electoral votes, as at present, crediting them to the candidates in exact proportion to their popular votes therein.

#### FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENT OF A JUST SYSTEM

The election of the President is the most important routine political event in the operation of our Government.

A presidential election is an election in 48 different States. Each of these States is properly jealous of its own rights and prestige. Each State prescribes the qualification for its voters. Each of those States controls its own election.

The fundamental requirement for the just selection of a President is the necessity of a common unit to express the will of the people of these various States. The vote that determines who shall be President should, as nearly as possible, mean the same thing in every State. When we bring these votes from 48 different States here to Washington to compute the result it is necessarily important that a vote from each State shall be a common unit of the Nation for the expression of its popular will.



When the Constitution was being written one of the most intense controversies, one of the most delicate problems, was the question of preserving the relative rights of the States. The little States threatened to refuse to join the Union unless given equality with the larger States. That led to a compromise. It led indirectly to the adoption of the present method of electing the President, the Electoral College system.

#### APPORTIONMENT UNDER THE ELECTORAL-COLLEGE SYSTEM

That system attempts to give the same voting unit for the election of President to every State. The Constitution provides that each State shall have the same number of presidential electors as it has Representatives and Senators in Congress. In the first place, each State is entitled to at least one Representative, regardless of its population. At the present time there is only one State in the Union that has a population materially less than is proportionately sufficient for a Member of Congress. So we can discard that arbitrary feature of our present apportionment as of no consequence. In the second place, Members of the House are otherwise allotted in proportion to the population of the States.

Apportionment according to population has been accepted as the best means available of regulating and preserving the relative strength of the States in the election of Representatives. In the third place, another very important feature was injected into the method of apportionment by a provision that gives the State a presidential elector and an electoral vote for each Senator.

The Constitution to-day with reference to representation in the Electoral College on account of Senators, is not materially different from what it was when adopted. This feature of apportionment is emphasized by the recent census. At the present time, nine States have over half the population of the United States. The other 39 States have less than half. Those 9 States have 18 Senators. Those 39 States have 78 Senators. The result is that those 39 States have an advantage as measured by population of 60 electoral votes over the 9 largest States in the country. Less than half of the population as represented in electoral votes in the Electoral College, has an advantage of 11 per cent over the other States of the country.

The new census shows that if Senators were elected on the basis of population, New England has 5 more Senators than she would then be entitled to; the Eastern States have 12 less; the Southern States 1 less; the border States, 1 more; the Central States, 8 less; the Northwestern States, 3 more; the Rocky Mountain section, 13 more; and the Pacific Coast States, 1 less.

That seems like a startling inequality in the distribution of electoral votes. The situation is largely minimized, however, by the distribution of those votes to the different sections of the country. No one section is the sole victim or beneficiary of this overrepresentation. As a usual thing, important and bitter political contests in our country have had a sectional background. In the main, overrepresentation for one section of the country is counterbalanced by overrepresentation in another distant section.

The different representation given the Senate, however, is a different geographical distribution of the powers of government from that of the House. Neither House alone has effectual control. In this necessity of concession and restraint there is a conservative element of value to the country—a protection against impetuous, punitive, and retaliatory action.

This apportionment of representation to the Senate is not more objectionable now than when originally granted. It is one of the great compromises of the Constitution.

As I take it, this method for the distribution of electoral votes must be accepted as settling the relative rights of the State, and a different system can not now be adopted. The States which would lose by a change of the system have the power to prevent any change even if it should be desirable.

#### DIRECT ELECTION REGARDLESS OF STATE LINES

If the direct election of a President is proposed, perhaps the first suggestion will be that we shall have a popular

ballot, that all votes, regardless of State lines, shall be treated as if thrown into one hat, counted, and the plurality candidate shall be President.

The question then arises, Does the popular vote of the citizens of the various States serve as a uniform unit for the equal expression of the popular will of the Nation? On first impulse it would seem that the individual voter is a common unit for all sections of the country. It would seem that the individual votes could be relied upon to preserve the relative rights of the States and represent equally popular opinion in every State. Careful consideration will show the contrary is the fact. The inequality of the proportionate voting population of the States is well established and very great.

#### INEQUALITY OF VOTING POPULATION

A brief reference to the past history of elections will demonstrate the facts. For instance, in 1920, 27 people out of every 100 in my State voted for President. In Indiana, 43 out of every 100 voted. Our two States were then practically the same in population—Indiana and California. If we then had the direct popular election of the President, in disregard of State lines, Indiana, of equal population, would have over 50 per cent more to say about who would be President than the people of California. The percentage of the vote in my State was about the average of the country. About 27 people out of every 100 voted. When we look over the statistics of that election we find that the percentage of people who voted in different States varied from 4 out of 100 to 43 out of 100. In other words, if we had elected a President by direct popular vote in 1920, in disregard of State lines, in some instances one State would have several times as much to say about who would be President as another State of equal population. At the hearings on House Joint Resolution 106 I placed in the record a full table showing these varied voting percentages.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEA. I yield.

Mr. DENISON. Why is that?

Mr. LEA. That is due to differences in the qualifications required of voters, in the ability of citizens of different States to meet franchise requirements, their interest in elections, and the intensity of election contests.

Every State under the Constitution has a right to prescribe the qualifications of its voters. Some States require that a voter be a taxpayer. Educational requirements are different.

An ideal system of electing the President by direct vote in disregard of State lines would suggest the need of uniform qualifications for voters in every State and greater uniformity in the ability of the people to meet those qualifications. Otherwise, the States would lose their relative strength in the selection of a President. As a practical proposition the individual voter is not a common unit for the equal representation of the States in the election of a President. That is so manifestly true that it is improbable the States will ever be willing to accept him as such.

#### TEND TO LOWER VOTING STANDARDS

There is another important phase of the proposal to elect by direct vote regardless of State lines. It might lead to a competition between States in lowering their franchise standards. It might create a temptation for a State to so reduce the qualifications for its voters as to produce the largest possible vote in order that it might assert an undue influence as compared with other sections of the country.

If we want the direct election of President we must devise some method which will preserve an acceptable common voting unit applicable to all the States. The States must have confidence that they will retain their present relative strength.

The States that now have 60 electoral votes out of proportion to their population are not going to surrender that advantage. The States of low voting population are not going to surrender the equality they now possess on a basis of population for the lesser privilege of a direct vote if that means an impairment of their present relative strength. Some States will hesitate to adopt a new system that may



invite the competition of other States in lowering voting standards. Therefore I think you will conclude with me that it is impossible to secure the adoption of any amendment for the direct election of President in disregard of State lines.

Under the method I propose the increase of State voting population would not increase its relative strength. The State electoral votes would be disposed of in proportion to the popular vote regardless of the total number of the popular votes.

#### WHO VOTES FOR THE NONVOTERS

Under the theory of my proposal the individual voter of the State votes for himself and for the people of his State who do not vote. Under the theory of a national vote, regardless of State lines, the individual voter votes for himself and also for all the people of the whole Nation who do not vote. The first theory unifies the voting standard on the theory of equality of population. The second theory equalizes the voting standard on the theory of equality of voting population only.

The present Electoral College system is framed on the theory of attempting to preserve the relative strength of States according to population. I do not propose to abandon that theory, but to give it more accurate expression.

#### PROPOSED PLAN OF ELECTING THE PRESIDENT

I have proposed to Congress, in House Joint Resolution 106, which I introduced last session, a plan which I believe meets this situation. I believe it overcomes what I shall describe as the defects and evils of the Electoral College system and yet preserves the relative strength of the States.

This resolution proposes that we abolish the presidential electors; retain State electoral votes as at present; that the people vote directly for President; that each candidate be given the exact proportion of the State electoral vote that he received of the popular vote therein; the plurality of the electoral votes elects.

The fundamental glaring and indefensible vice of the electoral system is its State-unit vote. The whole vote of the State goes to the plurality candidate and minority votes within the State are not counted in computing the final result. The fundamental feature and merit of my proposal is that the State electoral votes shall be credited to the candidates in exact proportion to the popular vote they receive therein. Instead of having the unit vote, instead of casting all the electoral votes of a State for the one man who happens to have a plurality, divide those electoral votes among the candidates in exact proportion to their popular vote in the State.

In that way we would have a direct election and yet preserve a common voting unit for every State in the Union, as now established by the Constitution.

#### DEFECTS AND EVILS OF ELECTORAL COLLEGE SYSTEM—THE UNIT VOTE

I now call your attention to some objections, as I see them, to the Electoral College system. The primary objection is its unit vote. The whole vote of a State goes to one candidate, the man who has the plurality. In many instances in the history of this country the whole electoral vote of a State has been cast for a minority candidate. That has not been an unusual thing; it is a common thing.

Here is an illustration of the ordinary working of the unit vote under the Electoral College: New York has the greatest population of any State in the Union. It has 45 electoral votes. Nevada has a small population. It has 3 electoral votes. New York has over 12,000,000 population. Nevada has less than 100,000 population. Suppose we have an election and two men are running for President? One carries New York over the other by a majority of 5,000 votes. Then the whole 45 electoral votes of New York go to that one man. His opponent carries Nevada by 5,000 majority. Thus the aggregate vote of these two candidates in the States of New York and Nevada are exactly the same, yet the man who carried New York has 45 electoral votes, while the man with an equal popular vote who carried Nevada has only 3 electoral votes.

Let us say that candidate A received in New York 2,005,000 votes. In Nevada he received 15,000 votes. Candidate B

received in New York 2,000,000 votes; in Nevada, 20,000 votes. Thus each of the candidates has a total vote in these States of 2,020,000 votes. When we bring the returns here into this hall to be counted candidate A is given 45 electoral votes and candidate B, with the same popular vote, is given 3 electoral votes. That illustrates the normal working of the unit-voting practice under the Electoral College system. Similar illustrations can be produced indefinitely from past elections.

#### UNIT VOTE DISFRANCHISES MINORITIES

The votes cast by the minority in every State are discarded and the candidate receiving the plurality vote of the State receives its total electoral vote. The aggregate minority vote cast throughout the Nation is never computed for the purpose of determining the result of the election. The total of the minority votes of all the States may be greater than the total of their majority votes, yet the man with the majority of the popular vote is denied the Presidency. The disfranchisement of the minority in every State is the common practice under the Electoral College system.

No man can defend the Electoral College system unless he can defend the disfranchisement of the minority voters in every State in the country.

In 1924 John W. Davis polled over 8,000,000 votes for President. His total popular vote in the States he carried was about 2,000,000. Davis received 136 electoral votes for those 2,000,000 votes. In other sections of the country he had over 6,000,000 votes, for which he did not receive a single electoral vote.

Mr. ANDRESEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEA. For a brief question.

Mr. ANDRESEN. Can the gentleman give us some idea as to how many electoral votes Mr. Davis would have received had they used the method the gentleman proposes in his resolution.

Mr. LEA. I do not have the figures as to that election, but I have as to the election of 1928.

Mr. ANDRESEN. They will be very interesting.

Mr. LEA. Mr. Hoover would have had a majority of over 60 electoral votes.

#### UNIT VOTE STATISTICS

Nineteen hundred and twelve was a very interesting election in the history of this country. Mr. Taft, who had been President, received 3,500,000 votes. Woodrow Wilson received 82 per cent of the electoral vote, although he had only 42 per cent of the popular vote. An electoral vote for Woodrow Wilson in 1912 represented only 14,500 popular votes and an electoral vote for William H. Taft at the same election represented 431,000 popular votes.

In 1928 an electoral vote for Mr. Hoover represented 48,000 votes; and for Mr. Smith, 172,000. It is perfectly manifest that such a system does not faithfully represent the popular sentiment of the country. The electoral system does have a general tendency to reflect public sentiment, but so unreliably as to be untrustworthy. It lacks the basic quality of inherent justice. If political justice is secured in the election of a President under the electoral college system, it is a matter of luck and not due to any inherent quality of justice in the system.

The elections of 1912 and 1928 are two of the most illustrative elections we have had. In 1928 Smith received 2,100,000 votes in the State of New York. Hoover received 2,200,000 votes, or 100,000 more than Smith, but less than half of the 4,500,000 votes in that State. Yet the whole electoral vote of the State of New York, 45, went to Mr. Hoover; 2,100,000 men voted for Smith, but when the election returns crossed over the New York line on their way to Washington every minority vote was discarded. It was as if they had never been cast. It was worse than that. When the electoral votes, represented by those 2,100,000 popular votes, were counted in this Chamber they were credited as if those votes were all cast for Mr. Hoover.

In the single State of New York in 1928 Smith received 400,000 more popular votes than he received in all the eight States he carried. In the eight States carried he received 87 electoral votes, but not a fraction of an electoral vote for those 2,100,000 votes in New York.



We go to Massachusetts. In 1928 Mr. Smith received only about 1 per cent more of the vote of Massachusetts than his opponent. Mr. Hoover received nearly 49 per cent of the vote; yet all of the 18 electoral votes of Massachusetts were counted for Mr. Smith.

Mr. Smith received 13,000,000 votes in the United States for which he did not receive a single electoral vote. If you will count up the election returns for 1928 you will find that 38 per cent of all of the votes cast were discarded so far as their votes were represented in the Electoral College. They were in effect counted exactly contrary to the way the people intended. That includes the minority votes for both candidates. In other words, in computing returns in the Electoral College no credit whatever is given to the minority vote in any State.

#### AGGREGATE STATE MINORITIES MAY EXCEED MAJORITIES

It is obvious that the aggregate minority vote of the country, as represented by electoral votes, may exceed the aggregate majority vote of the people. An average majority of 10,000 each in 24 States, with 270 electoral votes, is 240,000. An average majority of 100,000 each in the other 24 States, with 261 electoral votes, is 2,240,000. Thus, the candidate with 2,000,000 majority is denied the Presidency in favor of his opponent with 2,000,000 less votes.

There is probably no other instance in the make-up of government in America, or in the civilized world, where, in computing election returns, minority votes in political subdivisions of the election territory are discarded before the final computation of the returns is made. The plan is as if, in computing the returns in a congressional election, we would refuse to count the minority votes in each county of the district, compute only the votes for the plurality side in each county and give the election to the candidate having the majority of the plurality votes only.

If there is any merit in a system that rejects 2,000,000 minority votes in one State and counts 50,000 majority votes in another, I am unable to detect it. If there is any political justice or necessity in refusing any credit in the Electoral College for 2,000,000 popular votes in one section and allowing 136 electoral votes for 2,000,000 popular votes elsewhere, I am unable to detect it.

#### FRAMERS OF CONSTITUTION DID NOT INTEND TO ESTABLISH UNIT VOTE

The State-unit vote, the most vicious feature of the Electoral College system, was never intended by the framers of the Constitution. The State electors divided their votes in the early presidential elections. Each man exercised his discretion as originally intended. After the system of pledging the electors in advance was established, many of the State electors were chosen by independent State districts.

The unit-vote practice developed in the early part of the last century. The Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian parties were contending for supremacy. The dominant political organization in the State adopted the unit vote to prevent the minority party in that State from getting any of its electoral votes. It was a deliberate and purposeful disfranchisement of the minority in each State where the scheme was adopted. Madison denounced the plan, but justified its adoption before the legislature of Virginia as a matter of political necessity to combat similar action by the Federalist Party elsewhere.

#### UNIT VOTE DANGEROUS

During the last 14 elections in the United States the average variation between the popular vote and the electoral vote received by the winning President has been over 14 per cent. This is the average result.

A system of election that refuses to count the minority votes in each of 48 States manifestly can not accurately reflect public sentiment on any rational or trustworthy basis. We can not have a system of election inherently just or reliable as long as that freakish injustice is retained.

Suppose we have an election on some intense issue; it may involve a sectional question; great bitterness may attend the contest; and it is finally determined that a man defeated by 2,000,000 popular majority is sworn in as President of the United States. This can easily happen. That can be demonstrated. What would be the situation? Dis-

content and bitterness would ensue. Perpetuate such a situation and we could destroy the solidarity of the Nation. Out of such injustice, out of the defects of our electoral system, situations may arise, as Senator Morton, of Indiana, once declared, which "may lead to civil war and disaster."

Three times we have elected minority Presidents, over men of larger votes—in 1824, 1876, and 1888.

In popular forms of government the dominance of majorities by minorities, in matters properly the subject of majority control, is a defect of government of major proportions.

The object of an election is to accomplish the will of the people. A system that permits the flouting of that will in the face of its positive and solemn expression is a dangerous system. The danger is not in the fair weather of to-day but in that evil hour when the injustice of it has raised a storm of condemnation and discontent.

#### VOTE-COUNTING METHOD ILLUSTRATED

The total popular vote of the parties at a presidential election is not computed in deciding the result. Only the votes of candidates in States they carried are counted. Votes of the candidate in States he failed to carry, no difference how great the number, do not figure in deciding the result. So the final count represents only the plurality votes of the candidate in all States he carried against the plurality vote of other candidates in States they carried. Whichever candidate secures a majority of the electors in this way is elected regardless of whether or not he receives a plurality vote in the Nation.

This situation is well illustrated by the votes in the election of 1912 which give a striking illustration of the normal working of the Electoral College system.

Explanatory table, election 1912

	Votes represented in electoral count				Votes unrepresented in electoral count	
	Popular	Electoral	Per cent of "Popular"	Per cent of electoral	Popular	Per cent of "Popular"
Wilson.....	5,162,267	435	0.343	0.819	1,123,947	0.074
Roosevelt.....	1,243,985	88	.082	.165	2,883,035	.191
Taft.....	65,432	8	.004	.015	3,418,390	.227
Others.....					1,135,013	.075
Totals.....	6,471,684	531	.429		8,560,385	.567

The total popular vote in 1912 was 15,031,169. Less than 43 per cent of this total vote figured in deciding the result. The total popular vote of the three leading candidates in the States they carried was 6,471,684. Those were the only votes counted in deciding the election. This represented less than 43 per cent of the total popular vote of the country, 42.9 per cent to be exact. The votes of 8,560,385 people, representing 56.7 per cent of the voters, were unrepresented and uncounted in allotting the electoral votes of 1912. The votes of that proportion of the people were in effect uncounted and disfranchised before the electoral count at Washington began.

This total shows the marked difference between the percentages in the popular votes as compared with the electoral votes of the candidates.

#### DEADLOCKS

The defects in breaking deadlocks under the Electoral College system is only second in importance to the vice of the unit vote. The unit vote is a constant vice of the system, always reflecting popular sentiment inaccurately, and now and then producing the great political injustice of defeating the candidate who rightfully wins the office. This ill result may equally be accomplished at any unfortunate time when a deadlock must be dealt with in the House of Representatives.

Three times we have had a deadlock in the election of a President, 1800, 1824, and 1876. In electing every official of the country except the President and Vice President we have a system that works all right all the time. All votes



are counted and the election is given to the highest man. There is no reason why we should be contented with a presidential system of election which works right only part of the time.

Every method of election must have a system of breaking deadlocks. Our Electoral College system provides a method. If all candidates fail to secure a majority in the Electoral College, the election is thrown into the House of Representatives, to break the deadlock. The first objection to that method of breaking a deadlock is that the election goes to the old Congress. It is the Congress elected two years previously that decides the election. You may have a landslide at the election at which the presidential election occurred. There may have been a radical change in the membership of Congress, and yet the Members who represent the repudiated party are given the right to select a President for the next four years.

The second object to breaking a deadlock in the House of Representatives is that the election is by States and not by the Members of the House according to their numbers.

A majority of the delegation in each State controls the total vote of the State. We have this interesting situation: There are 435 Members in the House. Eighty-nine Members represent the full delegation of 25 States, a majority of all the States. Twenty-one per cent of the Members of this House represent the full delegation of 25 States. The other 23 States have 79 per cent of the Members of Congress. States having 89 Members have the power to elect the President. Sixty-three of those 89 men constitute a controlling majority and would have the physical power to elect in case of such a deadlock. As a matter of fact, such an election would never occur, but the fact that it is physically possible shows the inadequacy of the present system, its inability to represent the people of the United States faithfully.

When the election goes to the House all States are equals. Wyoming has just as much power as Pennsylvania in selecting a President. Wyoming, with perhaps 300,000 people, and Pennsylvania, with 9,000,000, are equal in breaking the deadlock in the House of Representatives.

#### MUST ELECT ONE OF THREE HIGHEST

The House, of course, elects only in case of a deadlock. A deadlock can be broken in the House of Representatives only by electing one of the three highest "of those voted for as President."

In practice this would result in a party vote. If one party controls a majority of the delegations in 25 States, it is easy to elect its candidate. Such an election, however, may produce the exactly opposite effect from what the voters intended as their will was expressed by them at the election.

#### BARGAINS AND INTRIGUE

If no party controls a majority of the States, the deadlock can be broken only by Representatives changing their party alignments for that purpose. That involves bargains and intrigues that can not be contemplated with satisfaction.

Such efforts to bring an election out of the deadlocks of 1800 and 1824 were accompanied by scandals and suspicions.

No man can question the wisdom of the observation of Judge Story in his Commentaries on the Constitution, when he states:

It can not escape the discernment of any attentive observer, that, if the House of Representatives is often to choose a President, the choice will, or at least may, be influenced by many motives, independent of his merits and qualifications. There is danger that intrigue and cabal may mix in the rivalries and strife. And the discords, if not the corruptions, generated by the occasion, will probably long outlive the immediate choice and scatter their pestilential influences over all the great interests of the country.

Title to the Presidency should be placed beyond bargain and compromise between those under suspicion of serving their own ends.

If the candidate whose party is able to break the deadlock in the House has died or become mentally or physically disqualified, the Electoral College system provides no method of continuing the party dominance which should prevail in breaking the deadlock. The members of the pre-

vailing party would be forced to elect the candidate of an opposing party or else continue the deadlock.

If the House is unable or unwilling to break the deadlock, the final election is thrown into the Senate, where the selection is confined to the two highest. Again, the Senate previously elected makes the selection, instead of a Senate that represented the views expressed by the voters at the presidential election. The power to elect the man defeated by the people is still maintained when the Senate breaks the deadlock.

#### DEADLOCKS UNNECESSARY

Through this whole system of breaking deadlocks, as well as in the original election, under the Electoral College system, runs the same fundamental, glaring, indefensible failure of the method of selection to reflect accurately or faithfully the sentiment of the people of the Nation as solemnly expressed at the polls.

We properly have a system of electing the President that does not require that he shall receive a majority vote of the Nation. We purposely and necessarily permit the selection of the candidate, who may have nothing more than a plurality of the votes, and sometimes not that. Yet, in this artificial method of making the final selection, we require a majority vote that wholly fails to reflect either a majority or plurality sentiment of the Nation. We permit the plurality selection of a President by the people, but we permit deadlocks by agents of the people, which thwart their will. Failure to secure a majority in the Electoral College, in the House of Representatives, or in the Senate does not mean a failure of the people of the country to agree on a President according to our usual methods of deciding elections. The deadlocks, as well as the indefensible method of breaking them, grow out of our failure to apply to the Presidency the same sensible rule of plurality selection that we apply to practically every other elective officer in the Nation from President to constable.

#### HOW TO AVOID DEADLOCKS

Under the system I propose, a plurality of the State electoral votes would elect. We set up the State electoral vote as the established, accepted, common unit of the people of the States for the expression of their will in the selection of the President. The plurality vote prevails. The election settles the result. The will of the people as established under a fair, acceptable rule, is decisive.

The possibility of a deadlock, even by a tie vote, is eliminated under this plan. In the history of the Nation, there has been no instance of a tie vote in a popular election for President in any State in all our 36 presidential elections. A difference of four votes in one State was the nearest to a tie we have had.

Even the possibility of a tie on a single vote is eliminated by resorting to fractional numbers for that purpose, if necessary.

Instead of dividing the State electoral votes by whole numbers or by major fractions, the amendment proposes an exact mathematical division. The computation under the decimal system is the simplest of problems. Any fractional number less than one-thousandth is disregarded, "unless a more detailed calculation would change the result of the election."

Under this plan, a deadlock is an impossibility. The election would end in a certain result in every case, so far as methods of counting the result are concerned.

The primary objections to the Electoral College system are the unit vote and its unnecessary creation of deadlocks and its method of breaking them. I shall now discuss some minor objections to the system.

#### ELECTION BY INTERMEDIATE BODY

The Electoral College is an intermediate body. We elect this intermediate body to elect the President for us.

Originally it was intended that the members of Electoral College should exercise a free discretion and select the man they deemed best qualified for President. For 130 years presidential electors have exercised no discretion. They have been pledged in advance. Without the exercise of a discretion, there is no need for presidential electors. The



people need no intermediate body to elect their President. The voters can register their will directly. The intermediate body is a needless encumbrance. Under the plan proposed, the people can vote directly for President and preserve the relative strength of the States as it has heretofore existed.

#### THE FRAILTY OF ELECTORS

There is an unnecessary frailty in the human equation of a presidential elector. He is selected weeks before he finally votes. The possibility that it may be determined that he is legally disqualified, or that he may die, or be deliberately slain, or become mentally or physically incapable of casting his vote, impairs the certainty that should exist that the electoral vote entrusted to him shall be finally counted.

#### CUMBERSOME ELECTION MACHINERY

Another objection is the inconvenient and cumbersome election machinery of the system. Senator NORRIS speaks of this and the difficulty of developing new parties under that system.

The indirect methods of the Electoral College system, the needless nomination of so many presidential electors, the confusion it causes the voter, the denial of the direct ballot the voter naturally desires, the expense of this cumbersome system as well as the possible impeachment of the election due to the personal disability of the electors, are all unnecessary and undesirable handicaps of our election system.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEA. Certainly.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do I understand from the gentleman's prior speech that there are only three instances in the history of the country where the President was elected by a minority of the popular vote—1824, 1876, and 1888?

Mr. LEA. No. There are only three instances in which a plurality candidate was defeated, but there have been many instances in which a minority man was elected.

#### UNSUITED TO THREE OR MORE PARTIES

It may be that eventually we will have more parties; it is probable that from time to time there will be a third party of sizable strength. The Electoral College system is unsuited to a 3-party system because it takes a majority of the Electoral College to select a President. The electors themselves are elected by a plurality vote, but when elected the majority of them must agree upon a candidate or else there is a deadlock.

Mr. STAFFORD. If there were six candidates running and all six had almost an equal number of votes but some one had a plurality, that minor minority candidate might not represent the majority will of the country.

Mr. LEA. That is true in all elections. We must have a system that does or does not permit the election of a minority candidate to the presidency. We now have a system that permits the election of a minority man. The only way we can be assured that the elected candidate will be a majority man is to permit a second election and confine the second election to the two highest candidates in the first election. Even when you have selected a President in that manner, it is a forced majority instead of a voluntary majority of the people. There is nothing that, in my judgment, indicates that we should have a second election for a President.

Mr. STAFFORD. But to-day the President and Vice President must have a majority of the electoral votes of the States.

Mr. LEA. But not of the people.

Mr. STAFFORD. In the indirect way of voting by States, and if the President does not have a majority of the electoral votes, the election goes to the House of Representatives.

Mr. LEA. But those electoral votes do not necessarily represent a majority of the voters of the country.

Mr. STAFFORD. But they reflect the individual view of the respective States of the country as to whom they want as President.

Mr. LEA. Only to the extent that there are popular votes behind those electoral votes.

Mr. STAFFORD. In no instance do the electors refuse to carry out the express will of the popular votes.

Mr. LEA. But it is entirely erroneous to say that you have a majority-vote President under the present system. Seven of the last fourteen Presidents have been minority men.

Mr. STAFFORD. We do have a majority of the electors who determine who shall be President, and if there is not a majority, then it is left to the House of Representatives.

Mr. LEA. That is correct. You have a majority of the electors, but it does not mean anything practically.

Mr. STAFFORD. It has meant considerable in all of the past years of the history of this country.

Presidential electors have never accurately reflected public sentiment. The ultimate result has generally been in accordance with the majority sentiment of the country. It is entirely insufficient to justify a method of electing the President to say that the plan usually works justly. A plan is unsatisfactory unless it always works to accomplish political justice.

#### ELECTORS ONLY AGENTS

Presidential electors are only agents. A majority of them can not mean more than the votes of the people who elected them. The Electoral College represents majority rule only on the theory that the States are the units of the Federal Government, and a majority of them should prevail, regardless of the dominant popular will of the people of the United States. That theory would be tenable if the States were treated as equals. Our Electoral College system does not treat our States as equals in voting power.

Under the Articles of Confederation each State was one equal unit of the Federal Government regardless of population. The framers of the Constitution started out to erect the Federal Government on that theory. Our Government underwent a metamorphosis in that convention. In the main, it came out with the individual citizen as the unit of the Federal Government instead of the State. The Electoral College was one feature that emerged only partially transformed between the two theories. Under that system the State is the unit of the Federal Government, but its power varies according to population. On the theory that the electors would use their own free discretion that theory was logical. When they were deprived of that discretion and the unit voting system was put in practice, the merit of the Electoral College system was destroyed.

The discretion of the elector was denied in response to the demand of the people to elect their own President. The people have been handicapped in the most secure use of that power by the indirect method of election and by the unit voting plan which operates to disfranchise all State minorities. The State, however, has no legitimate interest to be secured by continuing to disfranchise its minorities in presidential elections.

#### PREVENTS SEPARATE VOTE FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

Another objection to the Electoral College is that it prevents a separate vote for President and Vice President. The people of the United States must vote for the President and Vice President, and they have no choice to distinguish between voting for a man of one party for President and a man of another party for Vice President.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. LEA. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. Has the gentleman thought of the desirability of making it possible to elect a President from one party and a Vice President from another? Would the gentleman approve of that?

Mr. LEA. Ordinarily, I would say no; there might be circumstances where that should be done. Suppose, it is revealed that the candidate for Vice President has purchased his nomination or is guilty of some criminal misconduct after he is nominated and the people of the United States do not want to elect him Vice President. Is it desirable that it should be necessary to defeat the candidate of that party for President in order to defeat the unworthy candidate for Vice President?

Mr. DENISON. I do not think that would be a possible case.



Mr. LEA. I think that is a question for the people themselves to decide. It is not that the people should ordinarily favor dividing their votes, but I think they should have the right to do so.

The people, in my judgment, should have an independent opportunity to select every elective officer. The independent, patriotic voter should have the same opportunity to select the Vice President as the President. He may not need a choice, but a party convention should not deprive him of it.

Frequently parties do the illogical thing. They may nominate one type of man for President and a directly opposite type for Vice President with a view of catering to the opposing viewpoints. A McKinley and a Roosevelt, or a John W. Davis and a Charles W. Bryan may be on the same ticket. They were all good men but of radically different types. They represented different political philosophies as between which the voter should have a right to distinguish.

#### THE TEMPTATION TO CORRUPTION

Mr. STAFFORD. Has the gentleman in his consideration of this question considered the possibility that if we had a popular vote for President, where there was a very narrow margin, that there might be sections of the country that would charge there was ballot stuffing in other sections, and that the announced results did not correctly reflect the will of the people? The gentleman knows that such charges have been made from time to time as to various sections of the country, particularly in the large cities. Suppose the popular vote turns, perhaps, on only 1,000 votes, and the rest of the country says there was not a fair vote in this district or in that district, what does the gentleman have to say about that phase of the situation, as to whether it would not create more dissatisfaction than under the existing plan?

Mr. LEA. That suggestion is a very practical one. As long as we have popular elections there is danger of fraud and there is danger of contests over the result of an election. We can not eliminate the danger of an election contest without eliminating the election itself.

#### FRAUD IN DOUBTFUL STATES

Under the present practice the contest for the Presidency is concentrated in a few doubtful States. The States politically certain are practically ignored. Every influence that money, ingenuity, and political methods can exert is concentrated in a few doubtful States. That extreme effort of the party is not simply to hold its own votes but also to get credit for the votes it does not deserve—the votes of the minority that will be counted with the majority.

The temptation to win the unearned votes of the minority is the primary reason for frauds in attempting to carry doubtful States.

The whole 18 electoral votes of Massachusetts in 1928 depended on about 1 per cent of the vote of the people. Under the plan I support 1 per cent of the vote would mean only 1 per cent of the electoral vote of that State, or a small fraction of one electoral vote.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 10 additional minutes.

Mr. LEA. The temptation to fraud is greater under the present system than under the one I propose. We have the greatest possible temptation to fraud in the existing system, because, by stealing a small number of votes, the whole vote of the State may be stolen.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEA. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. If we follow the gentleman's argument to a logical conclusion, it would tend to increase corruption in the close boroughs.

Mr. LEA. That result does not follow. Under the present plan the temptation to fraud is concentrated in the close States. The closeness of the vote there, on which the whole result depends, offers the possibility of the fraud being successful. Under the plan I propose, all votes cast any-

where would be counted. They would have no inflated values. A few thousand votes anywhere could mean no more than a fraction of one electoral vote. We have over 37,000,000 voters. The futility of going out to capture the election by fraud with that many voters is apparent. The practicability of winning an election by fraud might be appealing where only a small vote in a few doubtful States is involved, but it is practically futile in a nation-wide vote, where no disfranchisement feature operates. Popular government must rely upon popular elections or it is a failure.

At the presidential election of 1928 the average electoral vote represented 70,000 voters. A charge of fraud affecting 7,000 votes would, on the average, affect only one-tenth of an electoral vote. The other proportion of the electoral vote of the State would not be affected by such a contest. If the contestant should prove the fraud charged, he would gain only a fraction of an electoral vote. The contest would not put the whole vote of the State in jeopardy, as it does under the present system.

Under the proposed plan the individual vote everywhere would count toward the election of a President. Each individual vote would stand for its small proportion of the State electoral vote—no more, no less. It is only the votes that would count that would ever be contested. As the proposed plan would widen the field of the presidential contest, it would to that extent furnish a wider field for fraudulent activities. On the other hand, the possibility of fraud winning the election would be greatly minimized by the tremendously reduced possibility of its affecting the ultimate result.

So far as the temptation to fraud is concerned, the plan proposed is the same as we all have in our general election system, the same as we have for governor or Congressman or any other office from President to constable.

#### CONCLUSION

I have taken as much time as I should, and I have not attempted to go into the details as to House Joint Resolution 106. I attempted to discuss that question fully in the hearings before the Committee on Election of President on the 14th day of last March.

To the full extent that I am capable of, I have attempted to present an amendment to the Constitution which would permit the direct election of President, simple in its operation, disfranchise no minorities, prevent deadlocks, and provide a system of election that should always promote confidence because inherently just in its operation. There would be no disfranchising of the minority. The will of the people of every section would be faithfully reflected and the relative strength of the State preserved exactly as it is to-day. I ask the consideration of the Members of the House of this problem, and do so particularly in view of what is manifestly going to be the concern of the country in the next few years. [Applause.]

#### PLAN APPLIED TO PAST ELECTIONS

Mr. SPROUL of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield.

Mr. LEA. Yes.

Mr. SPROUL of Kansas. Has the gentleman ever passed on the results of the presidential elections in the past with his system applied?

Mr. LEA. I have.

Mr. SPROUL of Kansas. How would the results have been different from what they have been?

Mr. LEA. In 1824 Jackson would have been elected instead of Adams; Adams was the minority man. Tilden would have been elected in 1876. Cleveland would have been elected in 1888. Tilden had a plurality of about 250,000 in 1876, and Cleveland had about 100,000 in 1888. There would have been no election in the United States under the plan I advocate where there would have been any doubt as to whom was elected. There would have been no deadlocks. The figures applied to the elections of the past would show that in every instance there was a certain election, and one that could not be impeached from the standpoint of its inherent justice.



Mr. SPROUL of Kansas. Are these instances the only ones where the result would have been different under the gentleman's plan.

Mr. LEA. Yes; except that there would have been no deadlock in 1800. Jefferson would have been elected without the deadlock. However, he was finally elected after the deadlock was broken.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEA. Yes.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. I think the gentleman is wrong in saying that the Electoral College did not elect the President in 1876. There was a question as to the votes of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida, and a commission was appointed to determine who had been elected. That commission determined in favor of the Hayes electors, and they elected the President.

Mr. LEA. Yes. We did not have a constitutional determination of the election of 1876. We had an extraconstitutional determination of that question. The electoral votes were finally determined by a commission, but if they had been determined by this proposed method there would have been no deadlock and there would have been an election without such a commission.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has again expired.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself one hour.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the bill making appropriations for the military and nonmilitary activities of the War Department for the fiscal year 1932 carries a total of \$446,024,150, which is \$390,386 less than the amount appropriated for comparable activities during the fiscal year 1931.

Of the total amount carried in the bill for the fiscal year 1932 the sum of \$334,956,880 is for military activities. To this should be added \$800,000, purchase of discharge money, making a total for military activities for the fiscal year 1932 of the sum of \$335,756,880. The total for military activities for the fiscal year 1931 was \$339,674,764, and in addition thereto the sum of \$800,000, purchase of discharge money. The net decrease, therefore, for the fiscal year 1932, as compared with the fiscal year 1931 for the military activities of the War Department, is \$4,717,884.

For the nonmilitary activities of the War Department for the fiscal year 1932 the bill carries \$111,067,270, which is an increase of \$4,327,498 over the amount appropriated for comparable nonmilitary activities during the fiscal year 1931. These amounts for nonmilitary activities are exclusive of items totalling \$11,261,620 appropriated under this head for 1931 and now estimated for under Veterans' Administration for 1932. The items now carried under Veterans' Administration and the amounts appropriated therefor in 1931 are as follows:

Finance Department—payment of annuities.....	\$28, 500
Medical Department—appliances for disabled soldiers..	42, 900
National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.....	10, 630, 220
State and Territorial Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.....	560, 000
Total.....	11, 261, 620

The increase in the amount for nonmilitary activities over the 1931 appropriation is due principally to an increase of \$5,000,000 in the rivers and harbors item.

In addition to the foregoing regular appropriations, there is the sum of \$12,929,515 for permanent, annual, and indefinite appropriations. These appropriations are provided by permanent laws enacted by Congress, which require the Secretary of War, through the Corps of Engineers, to do certain specified work, such as the maintenance of canals, dams, and locks, removing snags and sunken vessels which obstruct or endanger navigation, and in general keeping the waterways of the country open and in operation. The amount for these activities is \$4,678,000 more than was appropriated therefor in 1931. This is due to a considerable increase in activities of this nature, notably in operating and maintaining the dams on the Ohio River. Another contributing reason for the increase is that previous esti-

mates did not provide a sufficient amount of money and it is proposed to overcome this deficiency in the present bill.

The principal increases and decreases in the 1932 bill as compared with appropriations for 1931 are as follows:

Increases:	
Salaries, account Brookhart Act.....	\$477, 056
Pay of the Army.....	1, 106, 645
Quartermaster—	
Clothing and equipage.....	395, 280
Barracks and quarters (transfer from regular supplies).....	4, 865, 913
Military posts (transfer from Air Corps).....	4, 526, 130
Organized Reserve.....	223, 023
Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.....	200, 970
Rivers and harbors.....	5, 000, 000
Decreases:	
Quartermaster—	
Subsistence.....	3, 432, 075
Regular supplies (merged with barracks and quarters).....	5, 989, 859
Army transportation.....	632, 845
Acquisition of land (already purchased).....	1, 174, 305
Air Corps (transferred to Quartermaster Corps, military posts).....	4, 143, 838
Ordnance—	
Service and supplies.....	471, 577
Ammunition storage (appropriated for).....	351, 941
Kitty Hawk (appropriated for).....	232, 500
Panama Canal (\$1,000,000 less for Madden Dam and some increases).....	659, 454

In addition to these larger items, there are certain minor increases and decreases. All of these taken together result in the total net decrease for military and nonmilitary activities of \$390,386.

The principal increases and decreases will be considered under the appropriate items.

The amount carried in the bill is \$4,316,241 less than the amount recommended by the Bureau of the Budget. This substantial cut in the estimates of the Bureau of the Budget was made possible by the fact that the estimates were prepared early in the calendar year 1930, since which time there has been a material reduction in the cost of various articles and commodities which make this saving possible without curtailment of the activities of the War Department.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do the hearings disclose how much reduction there has been in the cost of food for supplying the Army over that of a year ago by reason of the reduction in commodity prices?

Mr. BARBOUR. In a general way, I believe there is an estimate given in the hearings as to the reduction in the cost of food items. Then there has been a certain reduction in the cost of clothing. There has been a reduction in the cost of forage for the animals, and it follows pretty generally all along the line, in varying degrees. Of course, in a great many articles there has been no reduction, but I think you will find it has been pretty general all along the line.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did any representative of the Quartermaster General's Corps state the percentage of decrease over what prices were before the depression set in?

Mr. BARBOUR. My recollection is that there was some discussion of that in the hearings. These hearings were held a month or six weeks ago, and I do not recall offhand. My recollection, however, is that there is something in the hearings along that line.

The structure of the bill has been materially improved by grouping together various related items which were previously carried under separate headings and in different parts of the bill. This rearrangement serves to clarify the language of the bill and to render its provisions more easily understood. For this improvement we are indebted to Mr. John Pugh, the very efficient clerk of the subcommittee on appropriations for the War Department.

In addition to the appropriations carried in the bill there is a contract authorization of \$3,000,000 for military-post construction and \$11,250,000 for the Madden Dam at Panama.

The committee commenced hearings on the 17th day of November and has been working almost continuously ever



since that time. A great deal of detail was gone into. All of the estimates of the War Department were examined in detail, and I believe the hearings will give almost complete information in regard to the matters covered in the bill.

In addition to that I may say the printed hearings are almost an encyclopedia of the activities of the War Department and its various branches. You can turn to those hearings and get information on almost anything that the War Department proposes to do during the fiscal year of 1932 or is doing at the present time.

In discussing the bill it is not my purpose to enter into any very great detail this afternoon. I want to call to the attention of the Members, and to mention for the purpose of the Record, the major items in the bill. The other items may be considered as the bill is read under the 5-minute rule.

The bill provides for an Army of 12,000 officers. That is, an average of 12,000 officers, 966 warrant officers, 118,750 enlisted men, and 6,500 Philippine Scouts, or a total of 138,216. That is the same as at the present time.

In that connection, however, I would like to remind the Members of the fact that in this country each year we are giving some military training under the War Department to in the neighborhood of 600,000 or more men. In the Regular Army we have a total of 138,216. Then we have at the present time 185,000 in the National Guard. We have 101,000 in the Organized Reserves, 127,000 in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and 37,500 in the citizens' military training camps, and those are in addition to a considerable number of what is known as the 55-C schools which are not affiliated with the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and a large number of schools and groups throughout the country that furnish military training without any appropriation from the Government. So we are not neglecting military training in this country and have, under the Army alone, now in the neighborhood of 600,000 or more men devoting at least a part of their time to military work and studies, and none of it is compulsory as far as the War Department is concerned.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. The gentleman just made the statement that none of it was compulsory.

Mr. BARBOUR. As far as the Government is concerned.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Well, is it compulsory as far as the institutions receiving the benefits are concerned?

Mr. BARBOUR. Some of the institutions require military training.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. So that we could legislate or so limit the funds that no funds should be given to institutions where the training is compulsory?

Mr. BARBOUR. As far as the rules are concerned, that I believe, would be a proper limitation. I doubt the advisability of it however.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Of course. What I wanted to bring out was the fact that the broad statement that none of it is compulsory, while it is technically correct, might be misleading.

Mr. BARBOUR. Well, had I stopped there it might have been misleading, but I said "as far as the Government is concerned."

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Well, even that I believe might be misconstrued.

Mr. BARBOUR. I think it is a correct statement.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. The gentleman is technically correct.

Mr. BARBOUR. It is absolutely true. It is not only technically correct but it is correct.

Mr. COLLINS. The gentleman is not actually correct, because the institutions would not get so much funds if military training were not made compulsory.

Mr. BARBOUR. It is up to the institutions to determine whether or not they will install this military training and get the funds. They do not have to put it in and the Government does not urge them to put it in. They can take the funds or leave them.

Mr. COLLINS. But the very fact that the Government pays for this training is the most effective way of encouraging institutions to ask for it.

Mr. BARBOUR. But a great many institutions make it elective, and there is no reason why any institution can not make it elective, unless there is some provision in the land grant act to the contrary.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand the situation, it is optional with the institution as to whether it will make the training mandatory, yet such an institution will receive the funds under the land grant college act.

Mr. BARBOUR. Under the land grant act I have heard it urged that they are required to provide military training as a part of their course of instruction.

Mr. STAFFORD. But it does not make it mandatory that the students at those colleges take the training.

Mr. BARBOUR. As I understand it, the law does not make it mandatory, but some of the institutions do make it mandatory.

Mr. STAFFORD. For example, the University of Wisconsin has recently, through its board of regents, decided that the training shall be optional with the students; nevertheless that institution is still the recipient of the gratuity under the Morrill Land Grant Act.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. The University of Wisconsin is always right.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am glad to have the gentleman speak so favorably about the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, the amount carried in the bill for the Army ration is somewhat reduced below the amount carried in 1931. That is due to the fact that many of the elements of the ration or components which go to make up the ration can now be purchased for much less than was true several months ago when the estimates were made up. We were advised by the Quartermaster Corps that the ration which a year or so ago was costing in the neighborhood of from 50 to 51 cents can now be purchased for 43½ cents. This reduction in the amount for the ration does not reduce the ration. The ration is fixed by Executive order and is a fixed thing, unless changed by Executive order. This amount is what will now purchase the same ration that was purchased under the amount carried in the 1931 bill. However, we are confronted with this situation: Before the end of the fiscal year 1932 there may be an increase in commodity prices, but rather than guess at that or attempt to estimate it at this time we took the cost of the ration to-day and carried that amount in the bill, with the understanding with the Quartermaster Corps that if there were an increase they could later, knowing definitely what it would be, come before the committee and get a deficiency appropriation.

Mr. BRIGGS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. BRIGGS. Does not the Quartermaster General make contracts sufficiently far ahead to protect against that very situation?

Mr. BARBOUR. He does on a great many things, but a great deal of the ration is purchased locally. They buy as much as they can, I am told, locally.

Mr. BRIGGS. But, even if purchases are made locally, can they not make contracts sufficiently far ahead so as to let the contracts run over the full period?

Mr. BARBOUR. They do make a great many of their contracts ahead, and they attempt to buy when the prices and conditions are most favorable.

Mr. BRIGGS. The gentleman knows that in connection with the river and harbor funds contracts are made to cover the period of a year or a year and a half when costs are low.

Mr. BARBOUR. The matter I am discussing now is solely the ration, the matter of subsistence.

Mr. BRIGGS. And I am referring to subsistence.

Mr. BARBOUR. They buy a great many of the staple articles of the ration in large quantities. They buy many of those articles under one contract; but, you take fresh vegetables, fresh fruits, and things of that kind which now constitute a part of the ration, they buy such articles in the locality where the various posts are located, and of course they can not enter into contracts for those articles very far in advance.



Mr. BRIGGS. I can appreciate that; but as to a great many of the staple articles they can do so.

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. BRIGGS. I believe they should buy as many of these articles locally as is possible; and as to the purchase of staple articles they can make large contracts; is not that true?

Mr. BARBOUR. That is true. That is the policy of the Army, we are told, so far as they are able to do so. I think the policy of buying locally is a good one.

Mr. BRIGGS. I think it is an exceptionally good policy and one that should always be followed.

Mr. COLLINS. Why? Why pay more?

Mr. BRIGGS. We are not speaking about paying more. We are speaking about purchases that can be made on the same terms and in the locality where the Army posts are located.

Mr. COLLINS. I think it is a bad policy to buy in small quantities, because it makes the Government pay more for its purchases.

Mr. BRIGGS. There is no reason on earth that I can see why the Army should center all of its purchases in one section of the country. I think we should buy such commodities when they can be purchased for substantially the same that they can be purchased elsewhere, and in the locality where the Army posts are located, so that those purchases may be distributed throughout the country and not centralized in one place.

Mr. COLLINS. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. COLLINS. But the Army pays more for food and other articles buying them piecemeal than they would pay if they bought them at wholesale.

Mr. BRIGGS. My impression is that a lot of the food that the Government has bought at wholesale they have sold from time to time as surplus products. A lot of it has gone into waste, and the Government has sacrificed thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars in that way.

Mr. COLLINS. That is only as to war supplies; not as to food.

Mr. BRIGGS. But if they bought it in quantities under a contract that extended for a long period, with proper regulation of deliveries, they could get the benefit of lower prices and save the Government not only hundreds of thousands but perhaps millions of dollars in such purchases.

Mr. COLLINS. The Army buys its rations and undertakes to have 30 days ahead and 30 days is all, and it is better to buy such of these articles as possible en masse with delivery at required points; buy it at the very least cost. We know very well we can not buy cheaply if we buy at retail and locally. The practice may be the popular thing for the Army to do, but it is not the economical way of making purchases.

Mr. BRIGGS. Let me give the gentleman an illustration: The United States Shipping Board makes its contracts every year for the fuel oil it uses. It uses millions of barrels of fuel oil and it makes a contract with a provision for delivery at certain places or certain ports throughout the entire country. It gets exceptionally good prices by reason of this procedure, and it has no long hauls or other added costs of transportation. Deliveries and purchases are made right in the localities where the oil is to be used, and in this way the Government vessels get their fuel oil at exceptionally low prices. The only objection I have ever had to the plan is that when prices are low they can not make their contracts for two or three years, instead of being limited now, as I understand it, to six months or one year. We could adopt this plan in the Army. If the Army is buying staple goods, why can they not make a contract in buying groceries for six months or perhaps for one year and have them delivered every 30 days and buy them locally at substantially the same prices obtained elsewhere?

Mr. COLLINS. It seems now as if there is no disagreement between us.

Mr. BRIGGS. That is what I am talking about, and I think that is the proper policy to be pursued and we should have legislation that would permit that.

Mr. BARBOUR. I think the gentleman from Texas and the gentleman from Mississippi are in agreement.

Mr. COLLINS. I find now that we are.

Mr. BARBOUR. For military post construction, for the fiscal year 1932, the bill carries \$20,638,990 and a contract authorization of \$3,000,000.

For 1931 it carried \$16,112,860 and a contract authorization of \$2,773,000.

The rather substantial increase in this item is really not an increase at all, because we have transferred from the Air Corps the technical construction item over to the military post item. There was almost \$6,000,000 carried in the estimate that came before the committee for Air Corps technical construction. Heretofore we have always carried that separately as an Air Corps item. The money is expended by the Quartermaster Corps and practically everything is done by the Quartermaster Corps just the same as in the case of the housing program. So we have moved the item of Air Corps technical construction over to the military post fund and placed all the money directly in the hands of the Quartermaster Corps.

This was done without the objection of the Air Corps; in fact, the Air Corps said they saw no reason whatever why this was not the proper thing to do, and it is one of the improvements the committee feels has been made in the bill, in bringing items together that heretofore have been separated, and making the provisions of the bill a little more easily understood.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do the hearings disclose the status of the building program by years?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Last year I had occasion to examine the hearings before the gentleman's subcommittee as to the status of construction in connection with the authorization for the 1932 program, and I noticed from the tables as stated in the hearings that the construction was one or two years behind. What do the hearings of to-day show as to the status of the construction of the various programs of prior years?

Mr. BARBOUR. At the present time, I will state to the gentleman from Wisconsin, 72 per cent of the buildings that have been appropriated for are under contract or in some stage of construction.

This bill carries funds for everything authorized up to the present time except a few projects amounting to \$1,928,380. These are of a low order of priority, and as to some of them there is now doubt as to just what they intend to do. They may decide upon a different kind of building that will need a different authorization or they may desire to transfer a project to some other post. So this bill will bring us almost current with the authorizations so far as appropriations are concerned.

Mr. STAFFORD. What is the status as to the entire program?

Mr. BARBOUR. The total program, according to present figures, is over \$173,000,000. This figure is continually changing from year to year. Their estimates last year of the total cost of the housing program were higher than they are this year, but this year they are \$173,000,000 plus. Of this amount there has been appropriated, including the 1932 appropriations, almost \$72,000,000, leaving the balance necessary to complete, as the program is now contemplated, something over \$101,000,000.

The total authorizations at the present time are in the neighborhood of \$73,000,000. So the program as it now stands is about three-sevenths authorized and appropriated for or will be with this 1932 bill.

Mr. GLOVER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes; I yield.

Mr. GLOVER. On page 26 of the bill, under the heading "Construction and repair of hospitals," there is an item



carried there in which I am very much interested. Will that be made immediately available or will we have to wait until after July 1, 1931?

Mr. BARBOUR. On pages 22 and 23 there is an appropriation for construction and installation at military posts. That is the item in which the gentleman is interested, and it is made immediately available.

Mr. GLOVER. That is the information I was after.

Mr. GIBSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. GIBSON. As I understand the gentleman's statement, the appropriation carried in this bill is \$4,316,000 under the Budget estimate. I am speaking of the total appropriation.

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. GIBSON. Is it true that nearly all the appropriation bills reported by the committee and passed by the House are under the Budget's estimates?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes, with rare exceptions.

Mr. GIBSON. And during the last 10 years have we not cut off many million dollars from the Budget estimates?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. GIBSON. Then what foundation is there for the propaganda circulating throughout the country that Congress is extravagant in making appropriations?

Mr. BARBOUR. There is absolutely no foundation in fact. I presume the statement is based on the fact that many bills are introduced which would authorize the appropriation of money, but the most of them never see the light of day. As the gentleman from Vermont says in almost every instance the appropriations have been under the estimates of the Bureau of the Budget.

Mr. GIBSON. We often see statements in the newspapers, under great headlines, on the extravagance of Congress, when in fact it is contrary to the truth.

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes; in line with many other statements about the Congress.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I notice a reference in the report of the committee in connection with the Army War College—a statement that there are a certain number of personnel employed upon the examination, segregation, and compilation of the records of the World War, and that an allowance of \$19,240 is made therefor. I wonder if that is all that is allowed by the bill for that purpose. I call attention to the fact that the Military Affairs Committee has had the question of the segregation and preservation of such records before it in connection with preparation for a history of the World War. The Adjutant General has been before us, particularly in connection with the Andrew bill, and my recollection is that we were given to understand that there was to be a great deal more than that required annually.

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes; a lot more is needed than that if they are going to get anywhere with the history of the World War. Our committee feels this way about it: There never has been any definite policy in regard to the matter of publishing a history of the World War. I understand it will be a tremendous thing when completed. It is going to cost a lot of money. Before we go ahead appropriating large sums of money for that work, our committee feels there should be some definite policy, which we do not have at the present time.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I agree with the gentleman, and I think the members of our committee are tremendously impressed with the importance, as, in fact, everybody who gives any attention to it must be, of having that properly done, and finally having a proper history of the war compiled. We are away behind the foreign powers in that respect. Britain and France are away ahead of us.

Mr. BARBOUR. Only one or two small pamphlets have been published.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I do not care to take up any more time in this inquiry. Is The Adjutant General being allowed a definite sum or any amount by which he can supplement the work being done at the War College in regard to work-

ing over and culling out of the important material from these reports and papers?

Mr. BARBOUR. This bill will carry just about the same as has been carried.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Can the gentleman state about how much The Adjutant General is being allowed for that?

Mr. BARBOUR. The money is provided under the Army War College and the figures are in the hearings under that head.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. About \$80,000, is it not?

Mr. BARBOUR. It would be more than that, counting the pay of Army personnel. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS] is the bibliographer of the committee.

Mr. COLLINS. I have gathered the impression from the War Department that they had given up the idea of writing a history of the World War; that they did not now believe that the World War history ought to be written by Army officers; that it ought to be written by individuals who know more about history writing than they know.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. By somebody who knows more about the war than the War Department officers do?

Mr. COLLINS. I have also understood that this alleged history is going to cost about \$20,000,000, and that sum rather scares me. The idea of spending \$20,000,000 for certain men in the Army to write a history of the war, when civilians could do it much better and more cheaply, impresses me unfavorably.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I do not agree with the gentleman at all that civilians could do it much better. I agree that civilians should certainly have a very important part in it. Will the gentleman from California yield further to me for a moment?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. This thing ought to be done in some way. It is just as important to us to have a proper historical statement of the war as it is to foreign countries. The only matter that we are concerned with at the present time is the proper preservation and classification of the records.

We are not going into the question at this time as to who is to write the history of the war, but we have been told that there are acres and acres of these documents somewhere here in Washington, which are not being properly protected, and some of which are subject to very great deterioration because of the conditions under which they are kept. The point I make is that somebody at the present time should be engaged in going through those records and picking out those that should be important.

Mr. BARBOUR. There is an item of \$200,000 in here that is a new item for classifying and indexing the medical and clinical records of the personnel.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I am not talking about that, but I am talking about the military part of it.

Mr. COLLINS. Will the gentleman yield to me further?

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Permit me to complete my statement. I am concerned only with the material being finally put into shape, so that the history may be written. I am not concerned with who is to write the history.

Mr. COLLINS. I am glad to know that the gentleman has modified his idea.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I have not modified any idea at all.

Mr. COLLINS. The Congress has been appropriating around \$100,000 a year for the last 8 or 10 years for these officers to write this history and they have not done anything. They wrote one little pamphlet, and then found that it was so inaccurate that they tore it up, and nobody can get a copy of it.

Mr. BARBOUR. I have one that I shall be glad to loan to the gentleman if he would like to look at it.

Mr. COLLINS. I know they will not put it out; they will not publish it. That the gentleman knows. I think that the Congress ought to content itself with making the material available, so that historians can write a history of the World War if they want to, and I think that when we have done that we have gone the limit.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I thought I made it perfectly plain to the gentleman that that was exactly the point of view



that I had; that that should be done, and done properly, and enough money should be given to either The Adjutant General or somebody to see that those records are properly classified.

Mr. COLLINS. The committee has given them all that they have asked for.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Where are the records now?

Mr. BARBOUR. At the War College, I understand.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. The gentleman from New York [Mr. WAINWRIGHT] says that they are deteriorating.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, some of them are stored in warehouses in Washington, and also some are stored down near Baltimore, carload after carload, in a disordered state. Some provision should be made to preserve them.

Mr. COLLINS. Do not let us have it go out to the country that we are having valuable records stored in out-of-the-way places.

There is not one of these documents in 10,000 that is worth a row of pins for historical purposes. For instance, an enlisted man will buy a dozen eggs. That is a record. He may order a couple of barrels of flour or some bacon. That is a record. Most of these documents are of that or of similar nature and are perfectly valueless. We have recommended in this bill an item of appropriation so as to separate these documents, preserve the valuable ones, so that they can be preserved.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. If the gentleman will yield, I can not agree with the gentleman from Mississippi that any document is useless. I resisted on this floor some years ago the destruction of what was called a lot of obsolete vouchers, and I think in writing the history of the war there are a great many incidentals to the war aside from military activities, and I should like to see preserved along with the military records and the valor of the American soldier some of the records of Congress in passing appropriations for lost profits of contractors, some of the special bills passed by Congress and appropriations made for profits in war. I should like every dozen of eggs ordered to be a part of that record, so that posterity may have a real education as to who gets the benefits of war and who bears the burdens of war.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield for me to make an observation?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am rather amazed, almost astounded, at the statement of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS] that only one out of every 10,000 of these records is of any value for preservation. The hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs disclosed no such condition.

The committee was led to believe from the testimony of representatives of the War Department that everyone was of value, and that for years they have been engaged in transcribing them, not on permanent, worth-while pieces of paper but on cheap, thin paper; and it was to that character of paper that I objected. We were employing any number of scribes to transcribe those records on paper that would not endure.

It was generally accepted by those who attended the hearings that the records are valuable and should be preserved in permanent form.

I am amazed at the statement made by the conservative gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS] that a great majority of them are worthless. The gentleman gives me a new ray of light or darkness as to the contents and value of these archives.

Mr. BARBOUR. I think what the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS] had in mind was the statement made before the committee that in these records there is practically everything relating to anything that was done in the World War, and a lot of it is of minor importance—communications from one individual to another individual about their subsistence or their rations for the day, or something like that. There is nothing of general interest. That is what the gentleman from Mississippi referred to.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then the servants of the Government who came before the Committee on Military Affairs were not

frank. They withheld all character of such testimony and led the committee to believe that one and all of these documents were worth while preserving.

Mr. BARBOUR. The testimony that came before our committee was that they wanted to separate the important ones from the unimportant ones.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I really will have to take issue with my friend from Wisconsin, my colleague on the committee [Mr. STAFFORD], as to that. I gathered no such impression from the testimony before our committee. What they attempted to convey was that some vast amount of this material was important and some of it was not, and that the whole of it should be surveyed so that the valuable material could be separated from that which was not valuable.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, yes; but the gentleman will remember that the testimony was uncontroverted before our committee that they were transcribing these records on thin pieces of paper that would not endure.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. It might be a good thing if we could get that brand of paper on which to print the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. STAFFORD. Especially when the gentleman from New York [Mr. LaGUARDIA] and I are in action.

Mr. BARBOUR. I think we could get unanimous consent for that.

Mr. WRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. WRIGHT. With the force which they have at work on this job at present, and the number of boxes and cases of paper they have to go through, how many years would be required to complete the job?

Mr. BARBOUR. A good many years. I have forgotten the exact number, but I was surprised that it would take as long as they say it will. It was something like eight years, I believe.

Mr. WRIGHT. Was it not somewhere nearer 40 or 50 years? A long, long time.

Mr. BARBOUR. The record will disclose the facts.

Mr. BRIGGS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. BRIGGS. The bill carries an appropriation for assembling medical records and surgical records of soldiers. That is for the benefit of the Veterans' Bureau, is it not, in ascertaining disabilities of service origin?

Mr. BARBOUR. That is primarily for the benefit of the veterans in making their records more easily accessible and getting at the facts in individual cases. It will be of benefit to the veterans and to the Veterans' Bureau and also to Members of Congress and every one who is interested in trying to get these cases before the Veterans' Bureau and having them properly considered with all of the facts in each veteran's case.

Mr. BRIGGS. Has the gentleman's committee given any special attention to emphasizing the importance of those records to the disabled veterans of the United States and their families in order that they should not only be made available but correctly transcribed and presented to the Veterans' Bureau, when there are so many veterans in the United States now who are meeting refusals of their claims upon the ground that there are no records to substantiate service connection of their disabilities? Not long ago a claim was presented which was based upon an A. G. O. report of the War Department, and it was rejected by the regional office and the central board of appeals of the Veterans' Bureau upon the ground that there was no record of any service disability of the character such as the man claimed, although he had testified there was a sergeant of his company who had the same operation for a similar disability performed upon him at the same base hospital, both during the war period, right here in the United States, and they were both in the same ward for a number of weeks together. I took it up with the War Department and had them make another search of their records, and they found



the man was correct. At that time I was informed in the Veterans' Bureau that they had a great deal of difficulty in obtaining accurate transcriptions or certificates of these records, and I was wondering whether it was not due to the fact that the War Department did not have a sufficient staff to deal with that matter so that an efficient check of these records could be properly made to determine just whether a man was injured or disabled, through disease or other cause during his war service, and present a record which was thoroughly reliable and which would justify proper action by the Veterans' Bureau.

Mr. BARBOUR. I will state to the gentleman that they came before the committee with an estimate for \$250,000. Of course, this is an appropriation committee, and all we can do is to recommend amounts for various activities, and we have done that in this case.

Mr. BRIGGS. I appreciate that.

Mr. BARBOUR. In inquiring about the matter, they were not certain just how much money was needed. It was a new item. The committee members were all agreed that something should be done about it. So we recommended \$200,000 in the bill, and it was also the opinion of the committee that some of the present staff of the office of The Adjutant General could do a part of this work. If not, when they got it organized so that they knew definitely just what it was going to require they could come before the committee with a more definite proposition and we would know definitely what to do with regard to it. But, being new and there being some doubt as to just what they wanted to do in the way of going ahead—that is, what would be necessary to enable them to go ahead—we made this provision for \$200,000 instead of \$250,000, which they asked for, on the assumption that some of the present force of clerks in the Adjutant General's office could do a part of the work; and if not, then after they found out the facts and knew definitely what they could do, they could come before us with a definite proposition.

Mr. BRIGGS. Well, I rose at this time to call attention to the fact that there should be the utmost care in checking the records of these disabled soldiers or World War veterans, so that reliance is not placed upon the statement of some one clerk who happened to have occasion to glance through the record, perhaps hastily at times, as he has to distribute his time over a lot of cases, but that a proper check will be made, so that when these cases go to the Veterans' Bureau from the War Department, with a certificate from The Adjutant General, they will reflect a correct record rather than an incorrect record and that a man will not be deprived of his just compensation.

Mr. BARBOUR. Our committee feels that everything should be done to make those records available for the benefit of the veterans and for the benefit of the Veterans' Bureau and everyone who is interested in them, so that the cases may be properly adjudicated.

Mr. BRIGGS. Your committee is disposed to furnish the requisite amount of funds necessary to that end?

Mr. BARBOUR. Absolutely.

Mr. WRIGHT. And we have also urged that the work be speeded up.

Mr. BARBOUR. As the gentleman from Georgia states, we are urging them to speed this work.

Mr. DALLINGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. DALLINGER. Can the gentleman state whether these valuable records are kept in a fireproof place now?

Mr. BARBOUR. I know that to be true with respect to most of them; I can not say as to all.

Mr. DALLINGER. Is it intended to transfer these valuable records to the new archives building when it is erected?

Mr. BARBOUR. That is my understanding. These are valuable records and should be preserved, the same as the records of the Civil War and other wars, and it is my understanding that they intend to preserve them in the same manner as they have preserved the Civil War records.

Now, gentlemen, to proceed with the bill. For the Air Corps this bill carries directly \$31,915,740. That on the face of it is a decrease, as compared with the appropriation for

1931, of something over \$4,000,000, but, as I explained a moment ago, that decrease is due to the transfer of Air Corps technical construction to the military post construction item under the quartermaster and is really not a decrease as compared with the amount carried in the bill for the current year.

It may be of interest to know that the total amount carried in this bill for the air services is \$76,500,000; that this direct appropriation for the Air Corps of almost \$32,000,000 does not cover all of the money that goes into the air services carried in this bill, but when you gather together all of the sums in the bill which are appropriated for the air services they amount to \$76,500,000.

This money will buy a total of 392 planes, exclusive of planes for the National Guard, during the fiscal year 1932, whereas in the present fiscal year the amount appropriated purchased 443 planes. There will be 50 less planes purchased in 1932 than in this year. That is not a serious proposition, we are told by the Air Corps officers, for this reason: We have reached in this bill the fifth increment to the Air Corps under the Air Corps act. To-day the idea with regard to a properly organized Air Corps is considerably different than it was when we enacted the Air Corps act. They have different ideas in regard to it and are planning to come before Congress in the near future with another program to take the place of the 5-year program which they now say is not a balanced program. In view of that fact, and in view of the fact that we may accept this new program in the near future, we are assured by Air Corps officers that this number of 392 planes, which is 50 less than are being purchased in this fiscal year, will be satisfactory and that the reduction is not a serious matter.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I notice that included in the Air Corps appropriation is an item for plans for a nonrigid metal aircraft.

Mr. BARBOUR. I was just coming to that.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I was hoping the gentleman would not leave this subject without giving us very full information as to how that got into this bill.

Mr. BARBOUR. In regard to the appropriation for lighter-than-air craft, the amount carried in this bill will buy three training airships, two of them of 200,000 cubic feet capacity and one of them of 80,000 cubic feet capacity. It will buy 1 motorized observation balloon; 6 observation balloons; 4 envelopes as spares, and in addition to that there is \$200,000 added to the estimate for experimental and development work in connection with lighter-than-air craft. That is the item which the gentleman from New York has just mentioned. There was no estimate before our committee for this item. Its purpose is to provide for experimental and development work in connection with an all-metal covered dirigible. All of the balloons and dirigibles of the Army at the present time are fabric clad. The same is true of the Navy with the exception of the ZMC-2, which is a small all-metal ship. It is believed generally, or believed by a great many people at any rate, that an all-metal ship is far superior to a fabric-clad ship. It has been contended that this \$200,000 will lead eventually to an appropriation of \$4,500,000 to build an all-metal ship considerably larger than the one the Navy is now operating, but that does not necessarily follow. This appropriation is put in the bill for the purpose of enabling the Army, with its technical men in lighter-than-air work, to cooperate in the investigation and experimental work that is being done by the organization or corporation of private citizens, with headquarters in Detroit, who have spent something over \$2,000,000 in experimentation and development along this line.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Is the gentleman aware that the Committee on Military Affairs has had this proposition before it and that we thought it had been put in cold storage?

Mr. BARBOUR. I am aware that the Military Affairs Committee has had this proposition before it, and some of the strongest testimony in its favor which has come under



my observation was testimony given before the Military Affairs Committee by General Fechet and other Air Corps officers.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. May I ask if the Army or the Air Corps is asking for this appropriation?

Mr. BARBOUR. The Air Corps did not ask for this, but have taken the position that they think it is a good thing and that something should be done.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. May I call the gentleman's attention to the testimony or the statement submitted in some material put in the RECORD by our colleague from New York [Mr. TABER], in which Assistant Secretary Davison distinctly takes issue with respect to the wisdom of making any such appropriation?

Mr. BARBOUR. I think if the gentleman will read Assistant Secretary Davison's answer to Mr. TABER's last question—

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. That is exactly what I was referring to.

Mr. BARBOUR. He is not at all averse to this proposal. The fact of the matter is, I thought, as I read the statement, that he rather strongly approved it without directly saying so.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. May I ask the gentleman one further question? Did the Bureau of the Budget approve this item?

Mr. BARBOUR. We did not ask the Bureau of the Budget to approve this item, and I want to say in this connection that this is a matter on which our committee was divided. The vote in our subcommittee was 4 to 1. There was an honest difference of opinion and then the matter went before the whole Committee on Appropriations and the whole committee was divided on it. I believe the four members of our subcommittee who have voted for this in subcommittee are perfectly willing to assume full responsibility for initiating the item and bringing it before the House, and we four heartily recommend it and indorse it to the House. I understand there is going to be an amendment offered to strike this \$200,000 item out of the bill. It will then probably be fully discussed and all the facts will come out in regard to it, but the item is in here and it is put here with the recommendation of the subcommittee and the whole committee, and we now bring it before the House for their approval or disapproval as the Members of the House may see fit.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is not my purpose to go into the merits of the proposition as disclosed by the testimony before the Committee on Military Affairs, but I wish to ask whether the gentleman's subcommittee had any independent hearings on this item.

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes; we had independent hearings that took a good part of one morning; not the whole morning, but the greater part of it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were those hearings rather supplemental and by the same individuals that testified before the Committee on Military Affairs?

Mr. BARBOUR. Some of the individuals. I do not think we had before us all those who testified before the Military Affairs Committee.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is the gentleman aware of the fact that the Committee on Military Affairs did not conclude its hearings, but rather left the matter up in the air?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes. There is ample authority for this appropriation, I will state to the gentleman from Wisconsin, in the Air Corps act, and there was no intention on the part of the subcommittee to appropriate for anything not fully authorized by legislation.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. MOORE of Ohio). The gentleman from California has consumed one hour.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 30 minutes more, and I hope I shall not have to use all of that time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California asks unanimous consent to proceed for 30 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BARBOUR. Gentlemen, I will try to proceed so as not to take any more time than is absolutely necessary.

The bill provides for carrying on the Military Academy at the same rate of progress, with the same activities that are being carried on there at the present time and with about the same number of cadets. It is anticipated there may be a slight increase in the number of cadets in 1932.

The National Guard appropriations are just about the same as they were for the year 1931, but contemplate an increase of 5,000 men in the National Guard, for which we are assured additional appropriations will not be necessary during 1932. They will be taken care of with the same amount of money that was appropriated for 1931 for a smaller number.

The appropriations provide for 15-day camps to be carried on about the same as the camps for 1931, although in 1931 they had a larger camp attendance—that is, in the fiscal year 1931, which was the calendar year of 1930—than is estimated for here, due to abnormal conditions, the Militia Bureau officers tell us, and they do not anticipate those conditions will continue. So we estimate here for the normal, average attendance at the camps and if the abnormal condition extends into 1932 the understanding is they will then come before the deficiency subcommittee, knowing more accurately than they do at present how much money they will need, and get whatever is necessary to cover any deficiency.

The appropriations provide for 48 armory drills, the same as heretofore, and pay for attendance at 48 armory drills.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. Is the gentleman going to touch on national matches?

Mr. BARBOUR. I have not come to that yet.

You will recall that during the past two or three years we have had before us the proposition of increasing the pay of property and disbursing officers. A year ago the subcommittee on appropriations for the War Department requested the Bureau of Efficiency to make a study of this question. They have made a study and submitted it through the War Department to our committee, and our committee is now of the opinion that we should have legislation to take care of this proposition and determine a definite policy with regard to it. We have therefore transmitted the communication to the Committee on Military Affairs, and I understand it has there been referred to a subcommittee of which the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] is chairman.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wish to say that as chairman of that subcommittee I have gone over the files and purpose to call the subcommittee together in the near future to take action on the proposition.

Mr. BARBOUR. The appropriation for aircraft for the National Guard is carried at about the same rate as heretofore. There was appropriated money for 40 new planes for the National Guard for 1931 and they will get 46. The present appropriation is for 40 airplanes, and it is hoped that they will get an additional number.

The Organized Reserves are provided for exactly the same as they have been this year. The same amount of flying hours are provided for the Reserves.

The amount appropriated for the 15-day camps is about the same number as heretofore.

Generally speaking, the Organized Reserves are carried in the bill without any decrease in appropriation.

Mr. HUDSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. HUDSON. In the provision for the airplanes for the National Guard, does that mean the total increase, or is a part of it for replacement?

Mr. BARBOUR. A part of that will be for replacement—they are being washed out all of the time.

Mr. HUDSON. What is the total increase?



Mr. BARBOUR. The gentleman is speaking of airplanes for the National Guard. On June 30, 1930, we had 171 airplanes, including 13 which were on order—that is, not delivered. According to the estimates, which are always very conservative, as to the number—on June 30, 1932, the National Guard will have 152 planes on hand. Of course, that can not be determined definitely in advance.

Mr. HUDSON. But you are providing for an increase?

Mr. BARBOUR. We are providing for the purchase of at least 40 planes, and they estimate that there will be 152 on hand, which will be 6 less than what was on hand June 30, 1930.

Mr. HUDSON. I am sorry to have the gentleman report that there will be a less number.

Mr. BARBOUR. The chances are that they will not have a less number.

Mr. HUDSON. Then the appropriation brings it up to the estimate?

Mr. BARBOUR. We are carrying an appropriation for 40, as we had last year. There is an increase in the appropriation for the National Guard Air Corps over the amount carried in the 1931 bill. It will provide the number of planes for the National Guard that are authorized in the Air Corps act.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. I want to ask the gentleman about maintenance for the forts. I have Fort Riley in my district, and last October they had to lay off men because they did not have appropriations sufficient to carry on the work. It seems to me they ought to maintain that efficiency as a matter of economy.

Mr. BARBOUR. If the gentleman will pardon me, I will get the figures in regard to that. There is an increase this year in the item of barracks and quarters, the maintenance item, of \$4,865,913. But that is not an actual increase. There is a transfer to barracks and quarters of projects previously carried under regular supplies. Frankly, there is a net decrease in the amount of money carried in the bill for 1932. It was stated to us by the Quartermaster General that not so much money will be needed on account of the housing program.

This item for upkeep amounts to almost \$16,000,000; and it seems to me that there ought to be enough money in there, with the twenty-odd millions we are spending here in the bill for new buildings, to keep those buildings out there in fairly good repair.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. They are in fairly decent condition; but along in October and November they laid off practically all of the civilian employees and gave as a reason that the appropriation had been wholly expended, and I know there is need for a continuance of work out there and the maintenance of the forts.

Mr. BARBOUR. Of course, that is something that our committee can not direct, because we bring in enough money, we think, to keep the buildings in proper repair, and the expenditure of that money is in the hands of the War Department. I understand it is allocated out through the corps areas to the different post commanders, and they control the expenditure of it, and if they expend it all in a short time their allotment of money is gone.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. Have you appropriated less or more this year than for the ensuing term?

Mr. BARBOUR. For 1931?

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. Yes.

Mr. BARBOUR. I have not the figures here for 1930 to compare them with the 1931 figures, but my recollection is that the 1931 figures are more than for the fiscal year 1930. That is going back into the fiscal year 1930, and we are now in the fiscal year 1931 and will be until the 30th of June of this year.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. It seems to me that the best economy is to keep those forts up.

Mr. BARBOUR. I heartily agree with the gentleman as to that, and so far as our committee is concerned we have understood that ample money is being carried in these bills

to do that. Of course, we appropriate the money in lump sums and the War Department allocates it to the various posts, and where the work is needed, and if there is not enough, they should come back and ask more in a deficiency appropriation bill or in the next year's regular appropriation bill.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. I am glad to have the gentleman make that statement.

Mr. BARBOUR. I am going to pass on now to the non-military activities carried in the bill. There are one or two items here that I wish to call to the attention of the Members of the House. For instance, in connection with the river and harbor item the bill carries \$60,000,000, which is \$5,000,000 more than was carried in the appropriation for 1931. In addition to this \$60,000,000 the Members all know that we recently passed an emergency bill which carries \$22,500,000 for rivers and harbors, so that we have or will have available—and all of this money is or will be immediately available—by enactment of Congress \$82,500,000 for river and harbor work, which is in addition to a balance in the neighborhood of \$30,000,000, unexpended, but mostly obligated, of prior appropriations.

Of the amount carried in this bill \$36,000,000 is for improvement and \$24,000,000 is for maintenance. It will carry on the work of the surveys along the streams for potential power, irrigation, and navigation, and will carry on the river and harbor work, speeding it up over what it has been during the past year.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. Mr. Chairman, I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that he has said nothing about the national rifle matches.

Mr. BARBOUR. Oh, yes. There is \$500,000 provided in the bill for national matches. My recollection of the testimony given to our committee is that they did not spend all of the \$500,000 that we appropriated for the matches this last fall. I do not know how much it would have required to bring the team up from Hawaii.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. All of the States and Territories should have a chance to compete in any number of competitions, but when they multiply the different competitions and the different items under the competition it makes it impossible for us to compete.

Mr. BARBOUR. The danger of that is that the people running the matches can continually multiply those competitions, so that Congress will have to follow along and provide whatever money is necessary. We have adopted the policy of providing \$500,000 for the national matches, and that is an ample sum. They had in the neighborhood of 6,000 or 7,000 contestants at the last matches, and they cost almost \$500,000. We are spending millions of dollars in this country annually for target practice and rifle shooting of various kinds. We are paying a million and a half in extra pay to enlisted men of the Regular Army for proficiency in arms.

Over 16,000 enlisted men, according to the latest figures I have, draw pay in addition to their base pay, because of their proficiency in arms, and we are providing pretty liberally, it seems to me, for target practice and marksmanship in this country.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. The team we were particularly anxious to get in was the civilian rifle team, and we did not get them in.

Mr. BARBOUR. Perhaps the gentleman will have better luck next time.

Mr. BRIGGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. BRIGGS. Is the money appropriated in the bill for public works made immediately available?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes; all of the money for construction at military posts is made available immediately.

Mr. BRIGGS. Of course, the gentleman knows as well as I do that, by reason of the unemployment situation, the utilization of those funds for work now is much more valuable to the mass of the people than it will be probably a year and for six or eight months hence.



Mr. BARBOUR. Absolutely; and I will say to the gentleman from Texas that all through this bill, wherever any money can be expended now to give employment to people, we make it immediately available without waiting for the beginning of the fiscal year.

We asked the War Department for a statement showing just where that money could be made immediately available and could be used without delay, and in every instance the committee has made it immediately available in the bill. We of course expect that will have the approval of the House when the bill is read.

Mr. BRIGGS. I observe the hearing also shows a statement or table showing the number of projects, some of which were included in the last river and harbor authorization bill, for which no estimates were made for 1932.

Mr. BARBOUR. Oh, yes; there are a number.

Mr. BRIGGS. I am wondering why that postponement, and why provision was not made for the projects which were given in there, so that the work on those public works which have been authorized by Congress could go forward.

Mr. BARBOUR. I will explain that by saying that the total amount of money required now to complete the entire authorized program, excluding projects that have been recommended for abandonment and projects the completion of which is not now justified, will cost \$277,000,000. In addition to that, it will cost \$200,000,000 to complete certain projects which have only been partially authorized. Additional authorization is needed. The Engineer Corps advises our committee that it can economically expend on this work \$75,000,000 a year. So we recommend an appropriation for \$60,000,000, and there is \$22,500,000 in the bill which just passed Congress.

Mr. BRIGGS. The emergency relief bill?

Mr. BARBOUR. The emergency relief bill, which is a total of \$82,500,000. Of the \$60,000,000 contained in this bill, \$16,000,000 is allotted to cover projects authorized in the bill enacted July 3, 1930.

Mr. BRIGGS. Yes. I know there are some of those, but there are others mentioned there for which apparently no appropriation is being made and which are being deferred. I was wondering why that was the situation.

Mr. BARBOUR. Well, that is up to the Board of Army Engineers. We are giving them all the money they say they can economically spend. Of course, they will have to distribute the work of the whole program over a period of years.

Mr. BRIGGS. By "money that can be economically spent" is meant the amount they request generally, both before the Budget as well as before your committee?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. BRIGGS. I presume it would be the purpose of the committee in any event if the facts develop the need for more funds to carry out these public works, of a character where the Government requires it or justifies it, to provide the funds necessary?

Mr. BARBOUR. Oh, yes; we believe the work should be carried on expeditiously, but there is a certain amount of work that they say they can do in the course of a year, and by giving them the money to do more work we can not make them do more than they are able to do.

Mr. BRIGGS. Do they have a contingent fund available, where projects are started and can not be completed, to which they have recourse to make up the amount of the deficiency?

Mr. BARBOUR. I will say to the gentleman in that respect this entire fund is a contingent fund. It is appropriated as a lump sum, as the gentleman knows, and then they allocate it, and they are free to change those allocations to meet unforeseen conditions. For instance, they allocate a certain sum to a project and a certain sum to another project. They may find the first project probably does not require as much money as was allocated, or they can not advantageously do as much work as they had planned there, but they can advantageously do more work at another place; they can transfer the fund from one project to another.

Mr. BRIGGS. I appreciate that.

Mr. BARBOUR. So that really there is considerable flexibility.

Mr. BRIGGS. But assuming, for instance, that the expenditures will go forward as planned and that they will use the fund according to the reports made by the engineers, and it is estimated some of the projects can not be completed within the year and therefore will come along the following year, but suppose those projects, however, go forward much more rapidly and they find they can complete them if they have the funds, will they have to let it stay in statu quo for a while until they can get more funds to complete it, or is there any fund to which they can turn for contingencies? Should there not be some reserve to meet that sort of situation?

Mr. BARBOUR. They can take the money allocated to some other project where the need is not as pressing and can use that money. They can transfer the money, and they do it frequently.

Mr. BRIGGS. But I was referring to whether there was any contingent fund of any character?

Mr. BARBOUR. Oh, they have these funds running from year to year, and each year they have an unexpended balance of a good many million dollars but a part of which is obligated. It is a continuing work, going ahead all the time, and each year in this bill we try to bring in the amount of money that will carry them along and take care of the increased authorizations as they say they are able to take care of them, and keep the work moving along.

Mr. BRIGGS. Do you not have some contingent fund included in this amount, so that, as I say, in the event of a project being left suspended they can turn to that fund without disturbing the allocations made to other projects?

Mr. BARBOUR. I am informed by the War Department that the Board of Army Engineers sets aside a certain percentage of the appropriations each year as a reserve and holds it as an emergency or contingent fund.

Mr. BRIGGS. The gentleman means of the total appropriation?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes. That is set aside each year and held as a sort of reserve or emergency fund until they get along toward the end of the year and find out that they can release a part of it, and then they do that.

Mr. BRIGGS. And they can resort to that fund in order to meet any case of emergency, such as I have discussed?

Mr. BARBOUR. That is my understanding of the situation; yes.

Mr. YON. Bearing out what the chairman of the subcommittee has said, I have had some experience along the line suggested by him.

Mr. BARBOUR. I hope it was a favorable experience.

Mr. YON. It was. I asked the office of the Chief of Engineers recently about some allotments that had been made to some projects in which I am very much interested. I asked what the possibility was of getting money to carry them on, and the Chief of Engineers said that no doubt they would be taken care of out of this contingent fund. As I understand it, there are always several million dollars set aside to meet emergencies which may arise.

Mr. BARBOUR. That is my understanding.

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. DYER. The gentleman's bill provides for an appropriation of \$339,000,000.

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes; for military activities and including the contract authorization of \$3,000,000 for post construction.

Mr. DYER. Can the gentleman state to the committee, in round figures, what part of this total amount is needed for continuing military activities in the Philippine Islands, the transportation of officers and men, and so forth?

Mr. BARBOUR. No; I can not state that to the gentleman, and, to be perfectly frank, I do not recall that there is anything in the hearings about it. There would be a good many things entering into that. The matter of transportation expenses is quite involved. Personnel would be transported on United States Army transports. The transports, in the ordinary course of things, would also carry a large amount of ordnance material, materials of various kinds,



and probably Air Corps materials, and the cost of transporting those things would be charged as a part of the expense of the trips. However, I believe the department would be able to arrive at an intelligent approximation.

Mr. DYER. Does the gentleman think the War Department could furnish substantial information upon that point?

Mr. BARBOUR. I do. My experience is that they can furnish information upon almost any of their activities you may ask about. But there are so many elements that would enter into that, all of which would affect the cost of transporting troops to the Philippines. Frankly, I am unable to answer the question asked by the gentleman and, as I say, I do not believe there is anything in the hearings touching this matter.

Mr. DYER. However, it is a large amount?

Mr. BARBOUR. Undoubtedly it is, because the Philippines are a long distance from the United States.

Mr. DYER. It takes a lot of money to continue the occupation of the Philippine Islands?

Mr. BARBOUR. Undoubtedly. They have to run the transports a long distance and keep the men there, as well as maintaining the Philippine Scouts. There are 6,500 men in the Philippine Scouts.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. And men are being relieved every two years?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes; the men are being relieved every two years.

Mr. DYER. All of this expense comes out of the taxpayers of the United States proper?

Mr. BARBOUR. Oh, yes.

Mr. DYER. None of this is paid by the Philippine people?

Mr. BARBOUR. So far as I know none is paid by the Philippine people. My understanding is that every cent is carried in this bill.

Mr. DYER. But they pay the expenses of maintaining the Philippine Scouts?

Mr. BARBOUR. No; they maintain the constabulary.

Mr. DYER. That is what I mean.

Mr. BARBOUR. The United States Government maintains the scouts.

Mr. DYER. Can the gentleman tell us whether or not the present bill is in substantial accord with existing law on the subject of funds for training camps?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes. Does the gentleman mean the citizens' military training camps?

Mr. DYER. Yes.

Mr. BARBOUR. We provide in this bill an amount that will carry on the citizens' military training camps to the same extent that they have been carried on in the past couple of years.

Mr. DYER. That includes how many camps?

Mr. BARBOUR. Fifty-three camps. We provide not less than 37,500 trainees at 53 camps.

Mr. DYER. That will include high-school boys—

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. DYER. Who want to go to these camps for training?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. DYER. Is there anything in the bill which would permit those in charge of arranging for these camps, the selection of them and the selection of the men, to use anything that is unfair to any class of people, or is it supposed to be fair to all the people?

Mr. BARBOUR. It is supposed to be fair to all the people. I will say to the gentleman that the estimate which came to our committee carried an amount that was reduced below the amount carried last year, which, if concurred in, might necessitate taking the trainees from points nearer the camps, so that some of those living at great distances would not be taken to the camps as heretofore. However, the committee put that money back in the bill.

Mr. DYER. So they can be taken from distant places.

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes. Heretofore it has worked very satisfactorily and the trainees have been taken considerable distances to these camps. The amount is carried in this bill so that the same policy can be carried on as heretofore.

Mr. DYER. I will say to the gentleman that in our section of the country it has worked in an opposite way. Under the law with reference to these camps, who is it that has the authority to fix the camps, accept the applications, and put the men in training?

Mr. BARBOUR. The officer in the War Department in charge is The Adjutant General. Then the management of the camps is placed in the hands of the various corps area commanders. In the First Corps Area it would be the First Corps Area commander, in the Second Corps Area, the Second Corps Area commander, and so on.

Then, they have certain officers under them who are in direct charge of the arrangements for these camps, but the man directly in charge would be the corps area commander. He would be the man who would determine the policies, in my opinion.

Mr. DYER. Substantially and practically, I take it from the information I have from the War Department, they leave this almost absolutely in the hands of the corps area commanders, and if they are unfair in any way, shape, or manner there is practically no recourse.

Mr. BARBOUR. The matter, as I understand, is almost entirely in the hands of the corps area commanders. The department leaves a great many matters to the discretion of corps area commanders.

Mr. DYER. Therefore they ought to be very fair to all classes.

Mr. BARBOUR. I would think so; yes.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. TILSON). The time of the gentleman from California has again expired.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman will proceed.

There was no objection.

Mr. BARBOUR. I just want to say in conclusion—

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Before the gentleman comes to the concluding part of his remarks may I call his attention to something which may not seem a very important matter, but one which I think is quite serious, and that is the statement on page 22 of the report and the provision on page 11 of the bill by which it is made impossible for any part of the appropriation for pay to go to any officer who has anything to do with any of the service journals?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. In view of the result that might be accomplished by that provision, which, as we know, would be to separate from the important service journals the officers on the active list of the Army, with all the consequent damage to the service journals, I wonder whether the gentleman really and truly and honestly in his heart believes that is the wise thing and the fair thing to the service to do, when we consider what these service journals and technical journals really mean to the different branches of the service.

Mr. BARBOUR. I believe these technical journals and service journals are very helpful and should be carried on, but the purpose of putting in this amendment, I may state to the gentleman, was to prevent Army officers being connected with these magazines, which carry paid advertisements of concerns which sell materials to the War Department. It was thought there was a relationship there which might not be exactly proper.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I can see the point of that, and it may be that as a matter of policy it is unwise for officers to be engaged in the occupation of soliciting advertisements for papers with which they are connected or where they may have some connection with the supplies furnished to the Army, but in order to accomplish that result, does the gentleman think it is really necessary to have as sweeping and as broad a provision as this, the result of which will be that no officer of the regular service can have any connection whatever with the management of any of these extremely important service papers?

Mr. BARBOUR. There are certain exceptions made, I will say to the gentleman.



Mr. WAINWRIGHT. The only exception is with respect to the officer who contributes an article.

Mr. BARBOUR. I may say this: I do not know of any instances in the past which have occasioned or justified any criticism.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Apart from the question as to whether the suggested amendment is subject to a point of order, I wish the gentleman might go to the extent of either modifying the amendment so as to accomplish the exact result which he has stated here, or else take it out altogether.

Mr. BARBOUR. I suggest that the gentleman make the point of order, and he will get a direct answer to the question at that time.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. No; I am not basing it on that. I would like to see the gentleman agree with me and cooperate with me in taking it out of the bill.

Mr. BARBOUR. Perhaps I will, before we get through, I will say to the gentleman from New York, but right now I do not think I can agree with the gentleman.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I hope the gentleman will think it over.

Mr. LA GUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield just one second before he concludes?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. LA GUARDIA. I hope the gentleman, before he concludes, inasmuch as there have been so many inquiries made with respect to appropriating enough for the War Department or the war activities of the department, for this item or for that item, will call attention to the fact that the total appropriation carried in this bill for military activities is \$334,956,880, according to the report.

Mr. BARBOUR. The gentleman's figures are correct.

I want to say in conclusion that there are a lot of other matters in the bill I should like to have brought to the attention of the Members of the House, but we can undoubtedly take them up in the discussion of the bill under the 5-minute rule. I have been pleased to see the interest that the Members have shown in the bill as evidenced by the questions that have been asked. The discussion has been rather free and I am pleased to see it so, because I believe in that way, perhaps, the Members generally can get a better idea of what is in the bill than they would by proceeding more formally and having a formal speech as to the provisions of the bill.

I want to express my appreciation and thanks to the Members of the House for their patience in listening to me as long as they have this afternoon. [Applause.]

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN].

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, a year and a half has now elapsed since Palestine was in the forefront of the day's news. The events of that fateful August of 1929 have receded into the background and much water has flowed under the bridges since. Almost a new world has emerged from the time of the massacres and some little advance on the question of cooperation between Jew and Arabs in the Holy Land.

But whether such cooperation will find any result in the cementing of a new understanding between the two races resident in Palestine, whether at last the Jewish people and the Arabs resident in Palestine will bury the hatchet and determine to live together as friends and neighbors, whether the massacres of the summer of 1929 will remain an unpleasant memory and will never recur again—no matter; the British Government has not done its duty in Palestine.

In my remarks on Palestine made in this House soon after the massacres of August, 1929, I pointed out how the Balfour declaration on November 2, 1917, has created a new status for the Jews from all countries in the world by inviting them to settle in Palestine with the view of transforming the country into a national home for the Jewish race. Jews have gone to Palestine from all countries and money was given plentifully by Jews from all lands for Palestine, making it again into a country flowing with milk and honey as in the days of yore, the blessed days of our Holy Bible.

When Balfour's declaration was announced to the world it was not merely a pledge of a friendly government given gratuitously, but it was a legal obligation assumed by

Britain, because Britain was obliged to look for friends at a time when it was not by any means certain that Palestine would be conquered from the Turks by British arms with the help of the Jewish legions.

In his Memoirs, Lord Asquith relates that in December, 1914, Sir Herbert Samuel suggested to him that Britain might acquire Palestine. Lord Asquith, who was then Prime Minister of England, looked upon this scheme as a wild project. It was only two years later that it became clear to the British Government that the acquisition of Palestine would be of great importance to it to bring the war to a successful termination. It was then that the British Government became convinced that the Zionist organization could be of help to it in winning the war and the British Government then put the question of the advisability to acquire Palestine before representative Jews of all sections of English Jewry, asking for their opinion on the question. The consensus of opinion of all the Jews who were consulted by the British Government was that it would be advisable for Great Britain to acquire Palestine, and that Palestine would come into the sphere of interests of both Great Britain and France. We agreed Britain or France would finally acquire Palestine, which Governments promised the Jews that they would secure a homeland for the Jewish people and make it possible for the Jewish race to develop in Palestine their social, cultural, and religious life.

Has Great Britain kept the faith? It seems to be definitely established now that Great Britain did not do anything to promote Jewish interests in Palestine, but, on the contrary, permitted the situation in the country to drift from bad to worse and made a muddle out of the situation.

In the last year and a half mighty little money has gone into Palestine, and what is worse, the British Government has severely curtailed Jewish immigration into that country. An attempt was made to establish a sort of legislative assembly, but this attempt has likewise miscarried to a large extent. The continued occupancy of Palestine by British forces in a spirit more or less unfriendly to the Jewish population is again something which can not do the Jewish race any good for its future development in Palestine.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I yield.

Mr. SABATH. It was not only a declaration but a promise made to our country, to the late President Wilson, that they would install and efficiently protect the rights of the Jewish people in Palestine.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I agree to that.

Mr. LA GUARDIA. It was more than a promise, it was a pledge.

Mr. GIBSON. Will the gentleman state the position Mr. Balfour occupied when he made the promise?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I am coming to that.

In my last speech to Congress on the subject, I looked upon the condition of affairs created by this unreasonable attitude of the British Government with hope. This hope, however, has unfortunately not materialized. It seems that a great deal must be done to restore to us confidence in the sincerity of purpose shown by the British Government in its management of the Palestinian situation. Unless Britain will see fit to make a radical change in its attitude toward the Jewish people in Palestine, we of the American Congress can not stand by indifferently and permit a violation of the sacred pledge which was made by Woodrow Wilson after the Balfour declaration. Our President, Woodrow Wilson, personally indorsed this declaration, and by the force of his personality made the American public adopt this declaration as a part of its own creed in the matter. Jewish legions to fight for the liberation of Palestine were openly recruited in America, and many citizens of this country gave their lives to make Palestine free from the Turks. We can not therefore look upon the situation indifferently, and must enter our solemn protest against the continuance of conditions in Palestine. The force of public opinion calls for some action on the part of our Government to make Great Britain live up to the terms of its mandate, since the attitude of our Government has always been friendly to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Pales-



time. This is a time where a decided stand is wanted, and I call upon the Government to do all in its power to bring about a correction in the situation.

This is no time for trifling with conditions. Already a great deal of mischief was caused by the delay in protesting against the situation. If our protest is not to fall on deaf ears, it should be backed up by such thoroughgoing and unequivocal expression of public opinion as would make Great Britain see the light and do its duty.

Palestine is no longer a Jewish question but has become a question of world-wide importance. The faith of the British Government which was pledged so unstintingly must be maintained at all costs. If Britain should fail us, then, no matter what the future may hold in store for it, it will stand convicted before the tribunal of public opinion of duplicity and laxity. No one will ever trust Britain again if our trust in the British with reference to Palestine should prove a mistaken one. It is in Britain's own interest to see to it that public opinion does not turn against it after its breach of trust since August, 1929.

Nor is this all. The Jews the world over have been looking with longing in their eyes to the time when they will be able to reestablish their national home in the Holy Land. All countries in the world in which the Jew is economically poor and unable to make a living have been taking steps to enable Jews to emigrate to Palestine. If Jews are not permitted to enter Palestine, there will be a sore problem to many nations of eastern Europe and anti-Semitism may spring up again to kill and destroy a large number of Jews throughout the world. Let us do all in our power to prevent this from happening. Only in a free Palestine can the Jewish race find a home free from massacres and excesses leveled against them by so many countries of eastern Europe. We hope and pray that the voice of the world calling for amending of Britain's ways will induce that country to change its tactics with reference to the Palestinian Jews. Our Congress must take the stand that it disapproves of the British policy as exemplified by the action of its Government at the present time. [Applause.]

Palestine was nothing more than a desert after the war, and they made it a safe place for not only Jews to live in but for all nations who sought a domicile in this holy land.

They have built stores, they have built sidewalks, they have built sanitariums and hospitals where heretofore there had been a lack of them. They have constructed overnight a wonderful and marvelous city. Now the hope of that city, planned by the American people, is practically going to naught because the people of this city and the people of this country and the people of the world are now refusing to contribute any further money in the upbuilding of Palestine, because Great Britain is now seeking to destroy that very declaration, that solemn promise to give a home to the Jews. The Arab, to a great extent, is nothing but the dirt of the desert; he has no education but has a wonderful opportunity of receiving treatment the same as the Jews and the Christians in the hospitals built by the Jewish people.

There is no discrimination made by the Jews; everybody is taken care of. But it means that the weak word of Great Britain seems to have no scientific study of the situation. They do not seem big enough to solve the problem to the satisfaction of the people, but practically destroy the mandate, and thereby everyone in this country and in the world has lost faith in Great Britain. If Great Britain wants the respect as a nation, if it wants the respect of the people of all creeds and all colors, I say that Great Britain had better turn around and live up to the letter of its declaration. Otherwise—God forgive me—there is no such thing as a promise by a nation. [Applause.]

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish].

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for the last six months, as a member of a committee created by the House of Representatives to investigate the activities of the communists, I have devoted practically my entire time to the study of communism, including the question of com-

merce and trade between Soviet Russia and the United States.

Speaking as an individual and not for the committee, I am convinced from a most careful consideration that Soviet Russia, through the socialization of its land, the confiscation of farm property, and the use of American tractors and American combines, will wipe out the entire export trade in wheat of the United States within one year's time. The average export of wheat and flour from the United States for the last eight years amounted to \$250,000,000 annually, or three times as much in money as the Soviet Government has bought in commodities in the United States during the last three years. The reason I refer to wheat at this time—because the subject will be covered in detail in the report which will be submitted on the 17th of January to the House—is the fact that the Government of the United States through the Federal Farm Board is holding 125,000,000 bushels of wheat in order to help stabilize the American wheat price. It is my contention that Russian wheat, first, because the land on which it is grown has been confiscated by the Soviet Government; second, because of enormous increase in production through use of American tractors and combines; and, third, because farm labor is paid on a gold basis of about 15 cents a day as against \$3 and upward in the United States, will next summer be placed upon the world markets at 30 cents a bushel, or one-half the American cost of production price.

We are holding this 125,000,000 bushels of wheat in various graneries throughout the country, but we can not sell it in our own country because it would immediately depress the price of wheat on the American markets. The reason we bought it was to stabilize the American price of wheat. I suggest that at this time, during this emergency, when there is much distress, suffering, and hunger throughout the United States of America, it would be in order to authorize the Federal Farm Board to turn over this wheat to the National American Red Cross upon the requisition of its officers, to be distributed by the National American Red Cross to relieve hunger, distress, and suffering throughout the United States, both in the cities and in the country districts. That wheat is available immediately. We can not sell it on the American markets without reducing the price of wheat. The world market is already practically taken away from us by Soviet Russia, Argentine, and Canada. If we retain that wheat and have another surplus of 200,000,000 bushels next year, with no place to sell it, then the Federal Farm Board will have an enormous surplus on its hands to take care of next year. I submit as a concrete proposition that the Federal Farm Board might release as much of the 125,000,000 bushels as may be required, on the requisition of the Red Cross, to relieve distress in this emergency. I have information that the Red Cross will expend its own money, which it secures from public subscriptions, to turn that wheat into flour and distribute it through such agencies as it may deem advisable, its own agents or own subagencies, and through the associated charities in the different cities—the Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant charities in New York City, or whatever agency is deemed best. The fact is that there is suffering, distress, and starvation in certain sections of the United States, and here the Congress is in session talking about all kinds of questions, but not actually relieving this distress.

In 1921 the Congress of the United States appropriated \$20,000,000 to send foodstuffs to Russia. In the following year the House of Representatives passed a bill, which I introduced, authorizing the expenditure of \$10,000,000 to send foodstuffs to the starving people in Germany. During the war and afterwards we helped feed Belgium, Poland, Austria, and other countries. Are we to hesitate now when there is distress and suffering and starvation in the United States; when it is officially stated that there are 5,000,000 unemployed? Are we to hesitate to afford relief in our own country when the Government graneries are bulging with grain? I am introducing the following resolution, and I request the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture that he give an immediate hearing on this resolution and on one



somewhat similar that I am introducing at the same time. If there is an emergency we ought to act immediately, and if there is no emergency then there is no use of acting at all.

House joint resolution

*Be it resolved, etc.,* That the Federal Farm Board is hereby authorized and directed to deliver, from time to time during the period of the emergency, to the American National Red Cross, upon the requisition of the chairman of the American National Red Cross, such quantities of the wheat purchased by the said Federal Farm Board under authority of the agricultural marketing act, approved June 15, 1929, as may be necessary, in the judgment of the national officers and central committee of the American National Red Cross, for the purpose of relieving hunger in the United States among the unemployed, and in regions affected by drought, and for whatever purpose deemed necessary in relieving distress, and to distribute the same through such agencies as may be deemed proper whenever and wherever such distress may exist in the United States.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. Would not the gentleman's resolution simply take the wheat that has been purchased by the Farm Board without rendering any relief to the cash price of wheat?

Mr. FISH. To cover that I have another resolution which I think the gentleman would prefer to the one that I have just read. I have discussed the resolution with some of the highest authorities in the country, and generally they give support to it. In order to obviate the objection that the gentleman has made that possibly by the distribution of the wheat held by the Federal Farm Board to the needy and hungry and starving people of America it would replace wheat that might otherwise be bought, and that that would therefore cause a reduction in the American market price, I submit that if our people are literally starving and without money to buy anything, it would not affect seriously the price of wheat on the American market. My point is this, that if an immediate hearing is held on the first resolution we would have the Secretary of Agriculture come before the committee, and the head of the Farm Board also, and then they could be asked whether they would replace the amount of wheat requisitioned by the Red Cross to stabilize the wheat market, which is, of course, the purpose of the marketing act. If they say no, and the members of the committee who are experts on the proposition believe that such a resolution would depress the price of wheat 10 or 15 cents, then I think they could well support a resolution such as the following:

That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$15,000,000, to be expended by the American National Red Cross for the purchase and processing of grain for the purpose of relieving hunger among the unemployed, and in regions affected by the drought, and for every purpose deemed necessary in relieving distress, and to distribute the same through such agencies as may be deemed proper by the officers and central committee of the American National Red Cross whenever and wherever such distress may exist in the United States: *Provided*, That the American National Red Cross shall submit a detailed report to Congress during the present session or as soon as practicable of its administration of this authority and of appropriations made in pursuance of this resolution.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. I would much prefer to have the last resolution considered.

Mr. FISH. I shall submit both of them. The reason I am advocating them now is that I believe an emergency exists, and I urge an immediate hearing before the Committee on Agriculture to discuss both resolutions on their merits and act on one of them or a substitute if preferred. What is needed is action and actual relief, both to the farmers and to the city people.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. As a matter of fact the price of bread is the same as it was when wheat was \$1.50 a bushel, or about the same, is it not? The first resolution would virtually dispose of the 125,000,000 bushels of wheat which the Farm Board is said to have on hand, which is hanging like a dead weight on the wheat market.

That wheat can never do the farmers any more harm than it is now hanging as a dead weight on the wheat market. It seems to me that the effect of the gentleman's first resolution would be to get rid of that surplus wheat and it would have a tendency to advance the price of wheat and at the same time bring down the price of bread.

Mr. FISH. It is utterly immaterial to me which of the two resolutions are adopted. They both have the same objective and that is to afford flour for the starving people wherever they may be in this country, and for the needy and those in distress. It is entirely for the Committee on Agriculture to decide which resolution is the better, or if another resolution should be submitted in preference of both. The real question to be decided is: Shall we afford relief; shall we do something in this situation, or shall we simply ignore it as we have done up to now? I offer both of these resolutions for immediate consideration in a great emergency. Shall we appropriate money or give the grain to the Red Cross to be distributed? The purpose of both resolutions is to afford immediate relief to relieve the suffering, distress, and starvation of our own citizens.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I am deeply interested in the gentleman's statement, and I am absolutely in accord with both resolutions mentioned. It is a national disgrace that we have unparalleled destitution and hunger in America with this Government hoarding 125,000,000 bushels of wheat. It seemed to me, however, that the gentleman's statement a few moments ago concerning the unusual distress in the country is not in keeping with the alleged statement which the gentleman made to the press yesterday relative to the recent outbreak in Arkansas by 500 hungry farmers as being conducted by communists. I had hoped the gentleman would mention that.

Mr. FISH. I will try to get two or three minutes in which to answer that. The gentleman has raised a question whether the communists have had anything to do with the food riots in Arkansas and Oklahoma. I hold in my hand the Daily Worker of December 6, 1930, over a month ago—

Mr. McKEOWN. Will the gentleman yield? There were no food riots in Oklahoma.

Mr. FISH. On December 6, 1930, the Daily Worker, which is the only daily communist newspaper in the English language, carried this article:

Oklahoma poor farmers form committees of action to fight bankers—

And so on. Then, further, it says:

The other day a meeting was held at Bert Curtis's place in Waldon Township, Grady County, and a committee of action of the United Farmers' League was formed. John Phillips is secretary of the committee.

Then it goes on to say that such committees of action were to be formed throughout the townships of Oklahoma.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish] two additional minutes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. The gentleman speaks of a meeting of communists in Grady County, Okla. Let me say to him that while I am not familiar with the many "astounding revelations" that he and his committee have made relative to activities of so-called communists throughout the country, I am well acquainted with the citizens of Grady County, Okla. The gentleman speaks of a county I have the honor to represent in Congress. It is a rich agricultural county and ordinarily the farmers are fairly prosperous; but this year, through no fault of their own, their financial condition caused by the drought and low prices is bad.

The alleged information the gentleman has just given to the House of a communist meeting in Grady County is without foundation. There is not a communist residing in Grady



County and very few real communists to-day in Oklahoma. There are no more patriotic nor more law-abiding citizens to be found in any county in the United States than in the county of Grady. I hope the gentleman was speaking with more authority when he gave out the interview to the press yesterday relative to the outbreak in Arkansas than when he speaks of supposed communists holding communistic meetings in Grady County, Okla.

Mr. FISH. I will answer the gentleman. I do not for a minute pretend to say that there is not suffering and distress and hunger in the gentleman's district and in other districts throughout the United States. I do say, however, that the United Farmers' League is a communist organization and those who sponsor it belong to an out-and-out communist organization with headquarters at New York Mills, Minn., with a communist-owned magazine called the United Farmer, and that anybody who joins the organization called the United Farmers' League belongs to an out-and-out communist organization.

Mr. GLOVER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. In just a minute. When Congress met there was a mass demonstration by communists under the title of "Council for the Unemployed and Foreign Born." The National Press Club gave them a room in which to hold the meeting, because naturally they did not know it was a communist organization, but canceled permission when they found out the facts. It had the name of "Council for the Unemployed and Foreign Born," or some such similar name.

Lots of these communist organizations have these fake names, and your people—your honest farmers out there—do not know half the time that the United Farmers' organization is an out-and-out communist organization. I do not know if there are any communists in the gentleman's district, but there are certainly communists in Oklahoma City and Tulsa.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Did the gentleman use such information as this as a basis for giving these interviews?

Mr. FISH. Not these interviews. In the interviews given yesterday I merely said that in this township in Oklahoma the United Farmers were organized, which is a communist organization, and I could prove it definitely and its communistic purposes, if I had time to read all the article in the Daily Worker of December 6, 1930.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Is that all the information the gentleman had in giving out his interview?

Mr. FISH. What interview?

Mr. JONES of Texas. The interview to which the gentleman from Oklahoma referred?

Mr. FISH. I said this—

Mr. JONES of Texas. Is that all the information the gentleman had when giving out that interview?

Mr. FISH. The gentleman does not know the interview I am talking about. We are not talking about the same interview, but I am saying that the United Farmers' organization, whether it is in Oklahoma, in Minnesota, or New York, is a communist organization, and if your people, like my people or anyone else, are fooled by going into that organization, that is not my fault nor the fault of anybody else.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Is it possible that the gentleman made no personal investigation before he gave out that statement?

Mr. FISH. It was not necessary to make any investigation. The facts are admitted in this newspaper, a communist daily newspaper, the official organ of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Regardless of what any communistic paper may print, I say to the gentleman that there has been no meeting of communists in Grady County, and again assure him that there is not a communist living in the county he mentions.

Mr. FISH. This organization, the United Farmers' League, came in from the outside, into your county, and

formed a communist-led branch there, and their own official paper states it in black and white. It also gives the name of the organizer.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Does the gentleman believe everything he reads in a communist paper?

Mr. FISH. I do about themselves; yes; I certainly do. Mr. Rudolph Hardju, who is the secretary of the United Farmers' League, was recently a candidate for the United States Senate on the communist ticket. The United Farmers' League, which was established about six years ago and claims approximately 5,000 members in several Middle Western States, and publishes the United Farmer, is an out-and-out communist organization, and wherever it organizes there is bound to be plenty of trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. CLAGUE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HUDSON].

Mr. HUDSON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I want to call attention to a remark made yesterday by our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania in his short remarks just before the close of the session. I want to pay my tribute with the other Members of the House to the great brilliancy of the gentleman and to the masterful oration he delivered at the beginning of the session yesterday with reference to Marshal Joffre. But later on in the day the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BECK] said this:

According to the last report of the Commissioner of Prohibition, there were indicted in this country 68,173 people, of whom 54,085 were convicted, with prison sentences aggregating 14,172 years, under the Volstead law. If I could assemble those 54,000 men, women, and even children, and invite the House to witness them pass in solemn procession before the Capitol, men and women who have been changed from self-respecting citizens into either avowed or actual criminals—if I could invite this House to witness this procession of misery, and they were to march in military formation, it would require at least five hours to pass a given point.

I am surprised that a gentleman of his great brilliancy would picture that procession without thinking in his mind of the other procession that might pass by. He speaks of these 54,000 convicted citizens of the United States, or non-citizens—I do not know what proportion of the number might be noncitizens—as men and women, and even children—and he used that phrase, I am sure, in a rhetorical sense and not in a factual sense—as innocent men and women. He speaks of them as being criminals because they were convicted of the violation of the prohibition law. The gentleman knows that probably out of that 54,000 there are not 50, if there are an even baker's dozen, who had not been convicted of some other violation of law before they were convicted of that violation. These were the conspirators and violators of law. Every one of these 54,000 men and women knew they were violating the Constitution and the law of their country, and to that extent they were jeopardizing the very foundation of their Government and of its institutions. Why call them self-respecting citizens?

I do not want to picture that procession, Mr. Chairman, but I would like to picture a procession of the men and women, and, yes, children, who are maimed and crippled and those who are buried to-day because of the violators of the prohibition law. I remember the lieutenant commander who drove through a safety zone the other day and killed an innocent woman and injured several others. I remember others who have been maimed, like the woman who, with her two children, was invited to ride home and the drunken driver drove against a tree, leaving that woman dead and the children motherless. You can take that procession all through the ages and you would find it a procession of sorrow.

Then I am surprised to hear a gentleman of his brilliance and his ability say, "I like a social glass and it does not harm me." I am surprised to hear gentlemen stand on the floor of this House and say, "This is in the Constitution but I will break it, and I advise the citizens of America to break it and become nullifiers." They are the ones who



made possible the conviction of 54,000 men under the prohibition law. [Applause.]

I have been amused at these gentlemen—and the number seems to be the same and the advocates seem to be the same. They constantly stand in the well of this House and point to a law which they say can not be enforced and they say that it is filling our jails and our prisons. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] says that with a great smile. He says this law can not be enforced and that it is filling our prisons and our jails.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDSON. No; I can not yield. The gentleman had his time yesterday.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman stated a moment ago that it can not be enforced.

Mr. HUDSON. I quoted the gentleman of Illinois. I want to put in the RECORD a statement showing the number of prisoners in the various States of the Union and the number who are there because of a violation of the eighteenth amendment, and will attach the same to my remarks. I want to call attention to my own State. The number on June 30 of this year was about the same as in December, 1929. At that time there was a total of 7,103 in the penitentiaries of Michigan, of which there were 373 there for breaking the prohibition law. This ratio holds in every State of this Union. It is not the prohibition law, sir, that is filling the prisons but men who are not willing to submerge their appetites for a law that is for the benefit of humankind. This is the cause of the filling of our prisons.

Now, another thing I want to put in the RECORD at this time is with reference to the cost. We have been told a great deal about the cost of this measure and about "the wasting of millions and millions of the money of the Government for the enforcement of an unenforceable law," quoting again the gentleman from Illinois of yesterday, and what are these millions? In the past 10 years—I have not the figures for the last year—the total amount it has cost the Government in round numbers is \$36,901,364, or \$3,000,000 a year.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDSON. I can not yield just now.

Mr. SABATH. That is what has been appropriated directly.

Mr. HUDSON. In other words, it is costing the Government less than one-third of 1 per cent per capita to place upon the statute books and to try to enforce it a law for the homes of America. We have not any right to quibble about the cost, but I will insert in the RECORD the exact figures.

Amounts realized as a result of enforcement of the national prohibition act and the amounts actually expended by the Bureau of Prohibition in administering such law:

Fiscal year	Fines and penalties collected through Federal courts	Accepted under tax and tax-penalty provisions of the act	Total collections	Expenditures
1920	\$507,482.70	<sup>1</sup> \$641,029.34	\$1,148,512.04	\$2,059,774.32
1921	2,418,117.55	<sup>1</sup> 2,152,387.45	4,570,505.00	6,300,581.25
1922	<sup>2</sup> 2,376,305.20	<sup>1</sup> 1,979,586.94	4,355,892.14	6,543,994.30
1923	<sup>2</sup> 4,366,056.00	<sup>1</sup> 729,244.23	5,095,300.23	8,135,842.44
1924	<sup>2</sup> 5,682,719.87	<sup>1</sup> 855,395.37	6,538,115.24	7,509,146.27
1925	<sup>2</sup> 5,312,338.38	<sup>1</sup> 590,888.07	5,873,226.45	9,203,394.45
1926	<sup>2</sup> 5,231,130.90	<sup>1</sup> 416,197.63	5,647,328.53	9,573,791.64
1927	<sup>2</sup> 4,143,040.02	<sup>1</sup> 1,018,969.71	5,162,009.73	11,685,101.33
1928	4,997,491.83	<sup>1</sup> 1,109,518.82	<sup>2</sup> 6,183,942.72	11,610,669.91
1929	4,769,429.65	564,514.57	<sup>4</sup> 5,474,497.09	12,328,408.00
			50,049,329.17	

<sup>1</sup> As shown by the records of the Accounts and Collections Unit, Bureau of Internal Revenue.

<sup>2</sup> As shown by the records of the Solicitor of the Treasury.

<sup>3</sup> Including \$76,932.07 collected by administrators from sale of Government-owned and unclaimed seized cars.

<sup>4</sup> Including \$140,552.87 collected from sale of confiscated cars, other seized property, and from miscellaneous sources.

Then there is one other thing I want to call to the attention of the committee. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BECK] yesterday in his remarks said:

The present is with the dries, the future is with the wets, and it will not be any very distant future if we can judge from the returns of last November's elections.

Let me say, gentlemen of the committee, there is a great silent vote in the United States that will never compromise upon this law and will never surrender, for it is built upon the eternal rock of the best interests of the home.

I remind you, gentlemen of the House, that sacred history tells us of the beleaguered city where at first sight it would seem as though everything was lost, then the vision was given to see that there was an invisible host in defense camped around about it, so is there a great multitude of men and women whose voices have not yet been heard who will stand in defense of this great advance in legislation for humankind and will not suffer its overthrow.

Recently a lady from the gentleman's city was here visiting. I speak of Mrs. Ruth G. Strawbridge, of Philadelphia, and I want the RECORD to contain her words. Mrs. Strawbridge was a guest at the White House, and I read the following from an Associated Press dispatch:

A mobilization of women's forces throughout the country behind the whole law-enforcement question, of which prohibition was described as only a part, was proclaimed in a statement last night by Mrs. Ruth G. Strawbridge, Philadelphia society leader.

Mrs. Strawbridge was a guest at the White House dinner in honor of Vice President Curtis. Some time ago a plea from her that society matrons stop serving liquor at their social functions gained wide publicity. Asked if she would speak of such a plan to the President, she said she "couldn't say."

"While originally the summons I issued to the women who are the social leaders in their own communities suggested that they set examples in obedience to the law," she said, "was based on a desire to give prohibition its chance and to stem the tide of liquor lawlessness among the privileged groups of the Nation, a still more significant need is stimulating the responses which are continually coming in great numbers from every section of the country."

"There is no grandstand play being made to-day by the American women in support of this cause. They are not taking straw votes or polls among themselves. They are not addressing public gatherings. In short, they are not doing any advertising at all. They are, however, manifesting the same determination and the same steadfast reason which characterized the women of earlier days."

In connection with this, may I quote another woman's opinion? I refer to Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, former Assistant Attorney General in charge of the prohibition department, who said, as quoted in the Washington Post of January 7:

I want to say in the year and a half I have been out of office I have observed a confusion of thought as to the strength of conviction that is back of the law, and also an increase of conversational assault upon that law. But throughout all the increasing clamor of those who would undermine the confidence of the people in the eighteenth amendment I have always felt a sense of intellectual nausea. There will be no weakening of the American people on the eighteenth amendment, nor will there be any on the laws to enforce the amendment.

Underneath the policy of the eighteenth amendment, underneath the purpose of the voters there is an irresistible upward reaching, a spiritual flame that can not be argued with.

This is the determination of the women of this Nation.

And now just a word as to the wet program: There has not been a gentleman who opposes the prohibition law who has spoken in the well of this House but what has said that he does not want the return of the saloon. You will then give credit for the fact that in these 10 years we have at least learned that that institution, which was peculiarly American, has been outlawed and, we trust, banished from the Nation forever. We can stand on common ground upon that issue.

Now, what shall be your program? You say you want the sale of liquor legalized. What made the saloon, gentlemen? What was the saloon? It was a place where liquor was sold, otherwise it could not have existed and it would not have existed.

And if liquor is to be returned, then it must be a saloon, although it may be called by another name.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDSON. I desire to be courteous to the gentleman from Illinois and I wish he would bear with me when I say I do not want to be interrupted.

I want to make this plea in all sincerity, for it seems to me that we are facing a very critical situation in our country. Is there any gentleman on the floor of the House that



will stand here and say that a man or a woman or a child is worse off because that man, woman, or child does not partake of intoxicating liquor? Is there one who will say they are worse off because of that? You know there is not one.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDSON. You know, on the other hand—I have said to the gentleman I can not yield now, and I wish the gentleman would respect my wishes. I do not care to be interrupted constantly.

There is not a gentleman here who does not know that to-day there are literally thousands of children in schools who could not be in school under conditions of other days. I have always lived in a factory town. I have in my district great industrial centers. I can think back to the time when beside of every factory there was a saloon on the corner.

What happened in those days all over this country, gentlemen of the committee? You all know what happened. The women had the second chance, if they had any chance at all, at the pay envelope. The pay envelopes were cashed in the saloon of that day and they got the greater part of it. For 16 years I was in the retail business and I know what the conditions were. I have seen men again and again come into the city to buy their supplies, men working out upon the farms or men working in the factories, and then before they could leave they had spent the major part of their money somewhere else and could not pay their bills for the supplies they had to have. This is not true to-day.

There is not a city in the United States that does not show an increase in savings accounts. My genial friend the major from New York [Mr. LaGuardia] said the other day that a monograph issued by the department for information contained a misquotation, because the prosperity, or the better working conditions of to-day, were due not to prohibition but to a different economic situation; but what has made this different economic situation?

On a later date I desire to discuss more fully the matter of the monograph, *The Value of Law Observance*.

All of you gentlemen know that when labor was employed in the factory it took two or three days to get the normal output of the factory because of the condition of the men after a Sunday or a holiday.

Gentlemen, let us be fair in this proposition. You realize that we have never given prohibition a chance. I had not been home two weeks last summer when I reached my office and my secretary said that there was a gentleman who wanted to see me. He gave me the name, which did not mean anything to the secretary, but I recognized who it was and what it was. It was the priest in one of the largest parishes in my district outside of Detroit. For 30 minutes that gentleman sat across the table and talked to me. He concluded by saying:

Hudson, in the name of God, do not weaken; prohibition never had a fair chance.

I want to say to those men who have criticized some of the activities of the prohibition agents that Colonel Woodcock says he has in the department a group of men there who will enforce the law honestly and legally.

Let me quote, in conclusion, those dynamic words of President Lincoln:

As the patriots of '76 did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and the laws let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor. Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample upon the blood of his fathers and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberties.

Number of prisoners and prohibition violators, by States

State	Number of prisoners	Number of prohibition violators
Ohio.....	8,806	165
New York.....	8,019	0
California.....	7,072	123
Texas.....	6,055	635
Indiana.....	4,218	92
Oklahoma.....	3,674	38
Kentucky.....	2,961	53

Number of prisoners and prohibition violators, by States—Contd.

State	Number of prisoners	Number of prohibition violators
Tennessee.....	2,713	310
New Jersey.....	2,665	1
Iowa.....	2,461	30
Minnesota.....	2,360	14
Maryland.....	2,281	113
Massachusetts.....	1,987	16
Washington.....	1,735	66
Colorado.....	1,258	150
Connecticut.....	1,122	5
Oregon.....	817	36
Rhode Island.....	677	22
Delaware.....	563	50
New Mexico.....	489	9
Maine.....	434	28
Vermont.....	365	40
North Dakota.....	310	23
Nevada.....	245	0
Illinois.....	8,026	11
Michigan.....	7,118	403
Pennsylvania.....	5,433	7
Alabama.....	4,263	562
Missouri.....	3,971	93
Georgia.....	3,424	36
Kansas.....	2,865	88
Florida.....	2,687	93
North Carolina.....	2,380	0
West Virginia.....	2,296	240
Louisiana.....	2,119	0
Wisconsin.....	1,858	2
Mississippi.....	1,719	164
Nebraska.....	1,125	8
Arkansas.....	1,082	102
South Carolina.....	618	59
Montana.....	668	0
Arizona.....	509	0
South Dakota.....	462	15
Idaho.....	379	10
Wyoming.....	356	12
Utah.....	278	3
New Hampshire.....	123	0
Virginia.....	2,664	90

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Black].

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, as the gentleman from Michigan described the procession and as the gentleman from Pennsylvania viewed it yesterday, it was badly deficient, because at the head of such a procession there should have been dry Congressmen with leaky suitcases. [Laughter.] And there were also absent citizens poisoned by Prohibition Department denaturants.

Mr. HUDSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLACK. No; the gentleman would not yield to me. I will be fair and I decline to yield. I did not refer to the gentleman from Michigan. I was interested in the swan song of the gentleman from Michigan. He is the horrible example that to-day is the day of the dries and to-morrow the day of the wets. [Laughter.]

The American Government comprises a Congress controlled by farmers and an Executive influenced by big business bosses. The middle class, white-collar citizens of the cities, never seem to get a break.

For years the time of Congress has been devoted to various forms of farm relief. For years the President has played ball with captains of industry.

We have a Jekyll and Hyde soviet system—the farmers in Congress and the exploiters in the White House.

While the Agricultural Committee is using the time of the House on farm relief the Treasury Department is refunding public taxes to its friends in big business.

The farmer controls through congressional votes; the business pooh-bahs through campaign contributions.

We have an unhealthy class government through legislative enactments and executive regulations.

It is well that the question of political party loyalty has arisen. There is a crying need for new political alignments. Until we have such there will be no progress in this country. Political organization conformable to division of political opinion are necessary for sane political action.

A Republican caucus has been called for February 26. As far as opinions are concerned, it would be the same as putting all the animals of the zoo in one cage. The Demo-



cratic caucus will look like an army of four or five regiments with different uniforms, all marching in different directions with five different commanders.

The great sufferer from these anomalies is the white-collar worker. The President and administration leaders are in accord on this session—throw some hundred million dollars into the rural district, pass the general appropriation bills, preventing a special session. This will satisfy the farmers and the wealthy. But what about the middle class? What about the average city man? There is no thought of his present wants and his future.

Here we are in the greatest economic eruption in history, and our relief consists of farm doles and legislative inaction.

Neither the President nor leaders of either party had any definite fundamental political suggestion to make to meet changing economic conditions.

Men are out of work; machines and mergers will continue to throw them out of work. But we have no plan to prevent or balance this activity. The Russian Government has gone into business generally, and can successfully compete against any private operator. We are Russians only on the prohibition question, for we maintain Government speak-easies to peddle our vodka.

We have permitted a fear to exist about a special session of Congress as though it were a war atrocity. This fear is created by big-business leaders, who realize that Congress met to solve economic disparities, see that the community obtained a greater share of community wealth. Public utilities have rate regulation because they are natural monopolies. Yet these artificial monopolies are draining the lifeblood of the Nation without hindrance by the representatives of the community in Congress.

Leaders in Congress decry a special session—fouling their own nests. Why is Congress supposed to be a bunch of Solomons in regular sessions and an assemblage of half-wits in special sessions? Of course there are many who say that we are always the latter. There is nothing so horrifying about a special session. For years the regular sessions have been used to droning out appropriation bills—and for a series of wild raids on the Treasury by the embattled farmers. Of course, the last special session which passed the Grundy tariff will long remain a nightmare. It must haunt the White House at nights.

Congress should provide for a conclave of leading economists in Washington in the near future, so that we may have the benefit of expert advice in the special session should one be called.

The undercover Wickersham Commission has again delayed its report. Great economic relief could come to the country from modification. A special session of Congress could take up this question, having available the Wickersham report for whatever it is worth. The country would welcome a special session to bring about modification. It would be a great day in the history of the country when the "Man in the Green Hat" can call upon his customers in the House Office Building without being pinched. He has taken the rap too often for dry legislators. I think the Wickersham Committee ought to call him and publish his list of customers. Statues could be erected to them in a chamber to be called Hypocrites Hall. Each statue would have a dry vote in one hand and a flask in the other. [Laughter and applause.]

In these troubled times yesterday we passed a ridiculous mosaic of prohibition enforcement laws. Once again the farmers held sway. They run the morals of the country and tap the country's till.

The farmers' soviet must be overturned in this country. Small farm States have an equal number of Senators with large industrial States. Yet we are supposed to have representative government here.

We are going to see revolutionary changes in our system. The first sign is the revolt of city Members against lopsided relief. We will see a cohesive city group here protecting the city taxpayer, the city worker, and the city liberal.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. TILSON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 15593, the Army appropriation bill, and had come to no resolution thereon.

#### RESIGNATIONS FROM CHAIRMANSHIPS OF COMMITTEES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication.

The Clerk read as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 8, 1931.

HON. NICHOLAS LONGWORTH,

*Speaker House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I herewith tender my resignation as chairman of the Committee on Pensions, effective immediately.

With every assurance of highest regard, I beg to remain,

Respectfully yours,

HAROLD KNUTSON.

The resignation was accepted.

Also the following communication, which was read by the Clerk:

JANUARY 8, 1931.

HON. NICHOLAS LONGWORTH,

*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I hereby tender my resignation as chairman of the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives. Respectfully submitted.

W. F. KOPP.

The resignation was accepted.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, I send to the Clerk's desk the following resolution for immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 332

*Resolved*, That HAROLD KNUTSON, of Minnesota, be, and he is hereby, elected chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs;

That ERNEST W. GIBSON be, and he is hereby, elected chairman of the Committee on Territories; and

That WILLIAM F. KOPP, of Iowa, be, and he is hereby, elected chairman of the Committee on Pensions.

The resolution was agreed to.

#### UNCLE SAM AND HIS CHILDREN

Mrs. OWEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing an article written by myself on Uncle Sam and His Children.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the lady from Florida?

There was no objection.

The article is as follows:

For years statesmen have referred to the child as the future hope of the Nation and to the home as the bulwark of all governments. The phrases have a familiar ring. But when the modern mother, engaged in rearing these young national hopes and defending the governmental bulwark, begins to look about Washington for scientific advice she is puzzled.

Her husband, no matter what his business or profession may be, can profit by governmental counsel in his perplexities. He knows where to find the Departments of Commerce, Labor, or Agriculture. She does not know where, in the labyrinth of Federal departments and bureaus, to turn for aid in her problems of the home and child. And yet all the time the answers to her questions have probably been worked out in one of the several unrelated and scattered Federal agencies dealing with child welfare and household problems. Her need and their services merely lack a connecting link.

To meet this situation I have introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to create in the President's Cabinet a department of home and child, on a parity with agriculture, commerce, labor, and the rest. I believe a regrouping of existing agencies, so that their valuable work may be facilitated and made available to the home makers of America, would effect economy of effort and expenditure.

It seems to me neither impractical nor inappropriate to recognize that there are women who are splendidly equipped to represent the department of home and child in the President's Cabinet. I have therefore used the wording "he or she" in referring to the proposed new Cabinet member in this piece of legislation.

Some suggestion has been made that setting up a Cabinet post of home and child would interfere with the rights of the States. I wish to make clear my position on that important point. I am a firm believer in safeguarding the rights of the individual States against any encroachment from the Federal Government. The



proposed department of home and child can not be regarded as an infringement on State rights. Rather it regroups existing bureaus so that women can avail themselves of valuable services already being rendered. It creates a focal point where State and individual agencies concerned with education, home and family life, and child welfare can turn for information. But it does not thrust advice on any State or family.

Such a department should by surveys, experiments, and research assemble a complete knowledge regarding prenatal care, child health and hygiene, education and training, dependency and delinquency, employment and recreation, family housing, and home economics. And by this same central agency this data should be disseminated in an informative service to all the States and possessions.

I could give no better evidence of the present scattered status of that single subject, the child, than to name the agencies which would be transferred to the Department of Home and Child under my bill.

They are: The Office of Education, Department of the Interior; the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor; child health, child hygiene, family health, and home sanitation functions of the Public Health Service, Treasury Department; the National Training School for Boys, Justice Department; the National Training School for Girls, District of Columbia Welfare Board; children's vocational training and rehabilitation from the Federal Board of Vocational Education, an independent agency; boys' and girls' club work and home extension classes from the Department of Agriculture; and the Bureau of Home Economics from the Department of Agriculture.

A few may have been missed in the maze, but my bill would authorize the President to make any transfers necessary to complete the organization.

The crux of the matter is simply this: As is readily seen, the Government activities dealing with the child are disconnected and scattered among a dozen different boards, bureaus, and departments. I urge unification and adequate appropriation by Congress to carry on their vital work.

It is my desire to talk this thing to you just as I have thought it through these past two years here in Washington. I find it easier to talk to an audience in person, and as I write I am trying to visualize the readers of *Good Housekeeping*, to whom I am bringing this proposed department. Most of you are women—women living in the cities and towns where I have visited and lectured, women belonging to the clubs of which I am a member—and, reflecting, I often smile to think what a joiner I have been.

In my opinion, I have a woman's normal viewpoint on home life, community life, State life, and national life. I have been wife, mother, and grandmother. On week days I have taught American youth in one of our colleges, and on Sundays have served as Bible school superintendent. The presidency of a parent-teacher association kept me on the alert two winters, and I spent an equal term as chief officer of the largest Florida woman's club. I have been a case worker in an invalid children's aid society in London, secretary to a maternity home, and a World War nurse in a casualty hospital for the British Government in England and in Egypt. For four years I was a State chairman of the Daughters of the American Revolution. And among other organizations I belong to the Business and Professional Woman's Club and the National League of Woman Voters.

We can thus review together these bureaus of government which are dealing with matters of intimate interest to you and to me, and discuss them as neighbors sharing a common viewpoint.

Most of these boards and bureaus concerned with our children and our homes are waifs and wayfarers in the byways of Washington, so far as offices are concerned. They are found in frame and stucco structures that are condemned relics of the World War, or in bricks and mortar of the Civil War period. The departments to which they belong may, perhaps, cherish them. But, by and large, they have the outward appearance of being treated like the proverbial little stepchildren—burdened with heavy tasks and given little help; made to live in makeshift places; and, usually, with a very small amount of spending money.

Thus, the really great work they are doing is hampered and obscured.

When I wish to obtain helpful information for the wives and mothers of my district, I have to play a game of hide and seek with a series of separate boards and bureaus, who themselves appear to be playing pussy wants a corner. The Home Economics Bureau, the Children's Bureau, and the Vocational Board have been moved in the past six months. The Public Health Service and the extension service of the 4-H clubs are in buildings marked for razing.

This shifting about is apparently logical and perhaps fortunate. It shows they are where they do not belong. They should fit into the national scheme under one broad roof where the child is the unit.

#### BRAZIL AND AUSTRIA LEAD

Brazil has such a building, one of the beauty spots of Rio de Janeiro. One wing is devoted to child research, with comprehensive library, exhibits, and museum. Another wing is devoted to actual service, with clinic, day nursery, dispensary, and department of prenatal care.

In Austria's capital, Vienna, all the health and social work for children is in one department, and the whole program is unified and integrated. Child care commences before birth, and continues with the preschool children, the school children, and the working children. And Vienna, in these postwar years, has be-

come a place where pleasant spots for children, swimming pools, wading pools, and playgrounds are almost as plentiful as miniature golf courses for the grown-ups here in America. It is my firm belief that we should do as well by our children as Austria and Brazil. And I am convinced we have reached the point in our national history when we can well afford to do so.

In the beginning our Nation was somewhat like a young married couple just starting out. How often I have heard that phrase, "a young married couple just starting out," and what a vivid word picture it brings, here in Washington, where the past is ever present! The chief concern, at first, was the very struggle for existence, and so we got those departments which belong to that struggle. We had to deal with our neighbors, finance ourselves, protect ourselves, deal with our disputes. Thus came the Departments of State, Treasury, War, Navy, and Justice.

Meanwhile, and again like a young married couple, our Nation has been doing some multiplication. The family was increasing in size, and there came those departments concerned with the physical facts of growth—the Post Office Department to speed communication; the Interior Department to administer lands since lavishly given away that we might develop Pacificward.

Now, when a young couple, ambitious and wishing to rise in the world, gets the family all assembled, the next logical focal point of effort is father's business. By building the business the family unit obtains the material prosperity of upstanding citizenry. The men who made the money were engaged in agriculture or commerce or labor. So those welfare departments came. Thus it is that all men know just where to turn in Washington for information to help them along on their jobs.

But the woman power, chiefly concerned in home building, has been waiting for the family to be well enough off that it could afford to give the children good educations and all the other advantages which parents always wish to give to children. Through our national history, a new department has been created every 18 years, on the average. It is now 17 years since the Department of Labor went into the Cabinet. It is time for our Nation to have a department of home and child.

#### BUT WE HAVE FAILED TO FOLLOW

Walk with me in Washington. It is a changing city now, and the thrill of things abuilding is in the air. Commissions of experts conferred and planned a great governmental scheme of beautiful buildings in stately settings to be headquarters for, and to symbolize, this government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Wreckers pile high the debris. Steam shovels tear the earth. Dazzling structures begin to rise. But I have failed to find on any blue print any building that would centralize and symbolize our national work for our children.

Let us look at the impressive new central unit of the Department of Agriculture—grilled doors, fluted columns, cloistered court with potted palms—and steam shovels starting another stupendous structure to cover three city blocks. Organized only since the Civil War, it has become a tremendous institution of experiment and research, with a 1930 budget of \$203,161,514. Through its 5,000 Washington workers, its 20,000 field workers, it reaches into all the States with a within-24-hour information service.

When the great drought of last summer struck, this machinery was ready and waiting to be used in combating shortage of animal feed. I wish I might say as much for pellagra prevention among children. But there was no focal point for that malnutrition crisis among our boys and girls. The disease itself had been studied by the Public Health Service, nutrition studies had been made by the Bureau of Home Economics, mothers had learned to look for their advice to the Children's Bureau, and teachers were accustomed to turn with their hygiene class problems to the Office of Education. You will note I have named in turn Treasury, Agriculture, Labor, and Interior Departments.

Flood lighted and foot lighted like an outdoor stage setting, the white façade of the Department of Agriculture invites one to read exquisitely engraved quotations even in hours of darkness. One such inscription says, "No other human occupation opens so wide a field for the profitable and agreeable combination of labor with cultivated thought as agriculture." I should like to look at such a building and see in lasting marble some of those sentiments about the home being the bulwark of the Nation and the child the hope of its future.

But shall we turn to the new Department of Commerce Building, steadily mounting toward completion in 1932? Since the February day 27 years ago when that department started functioning our population has increased by more than 50 per cent; our manufactures by 400 per cent; our electrical consumption by 3,000 per cent; our automobiles from 1 every 2,500 persons to 1 every 5 persons. This new \$17,500,000 building of 1,092,800 square feet of floor area, unquestionably one of the greatest office structures in the world, stands as a symbol to such facts. I can look at it and glory in it—a monumental fact-ascertaining and fact-disseminating mill, touching every business of every city in the United States, and feeding to our markets world-wide surveys gathered through 60 foreign offices in 47 different countries, and an annual budget which in 1930 was \$65,461,558.

But let us go farther and consider by contrast the one Government agency which names the child in its title—the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. By its great work you already know it. It had better be known by its work, for it is no show place for visitors.

Burned out of ramshackle World War temporary building No. 4 a few months ago, the Children's Bureau now occupies a worse



fire trap, a once-abandoned wing of Temporary Building No. 5. That was its fifth move to a poor place in 15 years, and still another is pending.

Pipes are exposed, plaster is falling, walls are stained with leakage, floors sag in the ill-ventilated, ill-lighted offices provided for the splendid and able Grace Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau, and her experts charged with solving the problems of human health and happiness. I can lead you to one room where a stack of charred wooden filing cases, containing a \$50,000 survey, stands a blackened testimonial to the fire risk taken by all the valuable research material.

I contend the Children's Bureau has earned a better fate. It is no mere coincidence of numbers that life expectancy has lengthened 10 years in the two decades the bureau has been on the job, nor that infant mortality has fallen from 100 babies per 1,000 to 66.2. The Children's Bureau made the first studies of infant mortality; worked unceasingly in behalf of vital statistics—until now all but two States are in the birth-registration area; dotted the map with baby-health campaigns; and furnished mothers remote from physician's guidance with the counsel of the best specialists.

Yet the scope of its usefulness was cut by a reduction from \$1,474,465 budget basis in 1929 to a \$320,200 budget in 1930 through lapse of the maternity and infancy act.

#### EDUCATION IS HAMPERED

For 12 years the organized educators of America have been importuning Congress for a national education department. Giving full credit to the present Office of Education for the work it has accomplished under handicap, the school men have made bitter complaint it can not adequately serve nation-wide education, with its five billions of property and annual budget of two and a half billions. Its studies, the educators say, are delayed in publication for lack of funds. Actual research, they lament, has been limited to about \$300,000 annually, the remainder of the budget (\$3,636,940 in 1930) being allocated principally to agriculture and mechanical arts, though the reindeer in Alaska get \$17,000. The school men further bewail that the Office of Education annual report, which should serve as handy reference to educators, is part of the voluminous report of the Secretary of the Interior, buried under a mass of detail with which school people have nothing to do.

But education, important as it is, constitutes only one of many sides of the child's equipment. In the department of home and child education would find an appropriate place, together with health, recreation, and the problem of the delinquent child.

Right now, I am told by social-service experts, two national services are badly needed in getting at the delinquency problem. One is uniform reporting of statistics by juvenile courts and assembling of these statistics on a national scale. No general agreement exists on terminology or method of presentation of court reports, making it difficult indeed to obtain any sort of clear picture as to how much our youth actually are involved in law violations. The United States has been slow in gathering basic facts. This lack of definite figures on both youthful and adult crime made more difficult the task of President Hoover's law-enforcement commission. That body found they had to locate crime before they could even start to suggest a cure. The Federal Government is the only agency which could possibly gather comparative State statistics in juvenile delinquency.

The second service needed is definite research in delinquency, its causes, and its possible treatment and prevention. This service is especially in conformity with the theory the Federal Government should be a fact-accumulating agency for the States.

The very lack of any national delinquency cooperation with the various States has brought to our Federal Government the perplexing problem of juvenile offenders. The National Training School for Boys and National Training School for Girls, mentioned in my bill, challenge constructive action on this problem, though the girls are less involved in this special Federal phase of the delinquency problem than the boys.

When a boy shoots craps on a military reservation, or steals bicycle tires from a box car in interstate commerce, or goes riding in a stolen auto across a State line, or pilfers stamps from a post office, he becomes a Federal offender instead of a juvenile-court case.

Simply by circumstances, and not by seriousness of his crime, he is involved in a Federal system of punishment instead of the juvenile-court procedure of his home city or State. If the crime is serious enough, he is sent to the national home in Washington. This is likely to send him too far from home for even an occasional parental visit and to give him a criminal reputation out of proportion to the seriousness of the crime.

The delinquency clause of the proposed department of home and child would provide a chance for setting up some sort of cooperative machinery with the States whereby Federal offenders, so far as humanly possible, could be dealt with like other juvenile delinquents. They could be given the benefit of the informal chancery procedure and the parole possibilities of their home States. I hope you will note my idea on this is just the opposite of encroaching on State rights, and would instead return authority to the States.

But while we can not shut our eyes to delinquency, we must also be fair to the overwhelming majority of good children. For them we must build good homes, in keeping with the more excel-

lent advice available each year. In this study of mine I followed home economics. Its research was in the bureau by that name. Two agencies, the Office of Education and the Federal Board for Vocational Education, were both interested in its teaching, and both making studies concerned with methods, equipment, and organization of material for teaching. And the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture has done excellent work in its actual application in home demonstration classes and 4-H clubs. It is easily seen there is much possibility for loss of effort in such scattering.

A review of various appropriations has led me to the conclusion that common-sense proportioning could be attained only when work for the home and child is considered as a whole. I noted that in 1930 vocational-education expenditures were budgeted at \$8,836,520, whereas the Office of Education, covering the entire field, was awarded \$3,836,940. One phase of education would thus appear twice as important as all the others together. While vocational education does not receive too much attention, I feel the broader field receives too little.

It occurred to me we have withheld the \$1,240,000 annual appropriation for the life and death matter of maternity and infancy aid, but are cheerfully and rightly contributing about \$3,750,000 annually to boys' and girls' clubs on the same sort of dollar-matching basis. I contend the \$137,281 allowed home-economics research is not in proportion to the importance of the field.

Concerning the broad field of child care and its puzzling admixture of administrations, I found Dr. Louise Stanley, the admirable Chief of the Bureau of Home Economics, had drawn some fine distinctions in her last annual report to Secretary of Agriculture Hyde. From it I quote:

"The work of this bureau (Home Economics) relates very closely to certain aspects of that of the Children's Bureau and the Public Health Service. The line of separation is generally considered to be that the Bureau of Home Economics is responsible for problems having to do with the normal child. When the services of a pediatrician or social agency are required, the study may be a co-operative one, or handled entirely by one of the other agencies. In the same way the problems of normal nutrition fall in the field of this bureau, leaving the therapeutic and pathological aspects of the subject to be handled only in cooperation with the Public Health Service. Similar cooperation will be needed in studies regarding the relation of clothing to health."

If it is necessary for workers to cooperate and check that closely, should one group be stationed close to Capitol Hill; another, time-consuming blocks away beside Lincoln Memorial; and the third, at a tangent in a downtown theater building? Should the first be reporting to the Secretary of the Treasury, the second to the Secretary of Labor, and the third to the Secretary of Agriculture?

To whom can the mother turn when anxious for the best possible counsel in her home-making problems? Where can community groups go for a unified picture of the American child's needs and opportunities, a picture which can only be obtained by putting together the unassembled services in almost a dozen governmental bureaus?

My own answer to these questions is the proposed department of home and child, and I confidently believe the mothers of America will stand with me in support of it.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. WILLIAMS, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. LOZIER (at the request of Mr. CANNON), for the week, on account of illness in family.

To Mr. CHASE (at the request of Mr. COCHRAN of Pennsylvania), indefinitely, on account of illness.

#### SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and under the rule referred as follows:

S. 5295. An act authorizing an additional per capita payment to the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

#### BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 13130. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Louisiana Highway Commission to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Bogue Chitto River between Sun and Bush, St. Tammany Parish, La.; and

H. R. 14446. An act to extend the time for completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near the city of Prairie du Chien, Wis.



## ADJOURNMENT

And then, on motion of Mr. BARBOUR (at 4 o'clock and 43 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, January 9, 1931, at 12 o'clock noon.

## COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. TILSON submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Friday, January 9, 1931, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

## COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

(10.30 a. m.)

Independent offices appropriation bill.  
District of Columbia appropriation bill.

## COMMITTEE ON FLOOD CONTROL

(10 a. m.)

A subcommittee hearing to discuss the Atchafalaya floodways project.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATION

765. Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the executive and disbursing officer of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, transmitting annual report of the National Park and Planning Commission for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930 was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. SMITH of Idaho: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 1184. A bill to provide for the relinquishment by the United States of certain lands to the city of Coeur d'Alene, in the county of Kootenai, in the State of Idaho; with amendment (Rept. No. 2193). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. NELSON of Wisconsin: Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 15930. A bill granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war; without amendment (Rept. No. 2194). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDREW: A bill (H. R. 15922) providing for an examination and survey of Merrimack River, Mass.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. JAMES of Michigan (by request of the War and Navy Departments): A bill (H. R. 15923) to prohibit the recovery of any indebtedness to the United States from either the principal or the interest due and payable to any depositor in the military or naval service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. EVANS of Montana: A bill (H. R. 15924) to encourage and assist the States in providing for pension to the aged; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRITTEN: A bill (H. R. 15925) to amend the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, relating to the method of promotion of officers recommended for promotion by a line selection board; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15926) to amend the act approved June 22, 1926, entitled "An act to amend that part of the act approved August 29, 1916, relative to retirement of captains, commanders, and lieutenant commanders of the line of the Navy," as amended by the act of March 4, 1929; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. KENDALL of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 15927) to prohibit importation of products of convict, forced, or indentured labor, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McSWAIN: A bill (H. R. 15928) to authorize promotion upon retirement of warrant officers and enlisted men in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard to commissioned rank held by them during the World War or the Spanish-American War in recognition of such service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 15929) to provide for the establishment of a construction service in the Bureau of the Census of the Department of Commerce; to the Committee on the Census.

By Mr. NELSON of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 15930) granting pension and increase of pension to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LUCE: A bill (H. R. 15931) to provide for the relocation of statue of Gen. John A. Rawlins; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. BRITTEN: A bill (H. R. 15932) extending the bankruptcy laws of the United States to the Virgin Islands of the United States; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FULMER: A bill (H. R. 15933) to provide a preliminary examination of South Edisto River, S. C., with a view to the control of its floods; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. BRIGHAM: A bill (H. R. 15934) to amend the act entitled "An act defining butter, also imposing a tax upon and regulating the manufacture, sale, importation, and exportation of oleomargarine," approved August 2, 1886, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FISH: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 456) authorizing the disposition of wheat purchased by the Federal Farm Board for the relief of distress in the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LaGUARDIA: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 457) for farm and unemployment relief in the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FISH: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 458) authorizing the appropriation of \$15,000,000 to be expended by the American National Red Cross for the purchase and processing of wheat for the purpose of relieving hunger among the unemployed and in drought-stricken areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALLEN: A bill (H. R. 15935) granting an increase of pension to Louisa C. Morehead; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15936) granting an increase of pension to Emma C. Butler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15937) granting an increase of pension to Ellen Essex; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. AUF DER HEIDE: A bill (H. R. 15938) for the relief of Oswald Bauch; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BACHMANN: A bill (H. R. 15939) granting an increase of pension to Eudora Virginia Morgan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CONNOLLY: A bill (H. R. 15940) to correct the naval record of George Herman Francis Wilhelm; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CRISP: A bill (H. R. 15941) granting an increase of pension to Margaret B. Furlow; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. EATON of New Jersey: A bill (H. R. 15942) granting an increase of pension to Sarah V. Sharp; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FENN: A bill (H. R. 15943) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Carpenter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FINLEY: A bill (H. R. 15944) granting a pension to Tempie Farley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15945) granting a pension to Lucinda Rowe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.



Also, a bill (H. R. 15946) granting an increase of pension to William R. Neal; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15947) granting a pension to Burl F. King; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15948) granting a pension to Myrtle Griffin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FREAR: A bill (H. R. 15949) granting a pension to Daniel T. Barnes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GARBER of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 15950) granting an increase of pension to Cynthia E. Dillard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GIFFORD: A bill (H. R. 15951) granting a pension to William W. Holmes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GRAHAM: A bill (H. R. 15952) for the relief of Frank Lasher Ackley; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HALL of Mississippi: A bill (H. R. 15953) for the relief of Marion F. Blackwell; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15954) for the relief of Jeff Davis Caperton and Lucy Virginia Caperton; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HANCOCK of New York: A bill (H. R. 15955) for the relief of Edward V. Bryant; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HAUGEN: A bill (H. R. 15956) granting an increase of pension to Harriet E. Fraverd; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HICKEY: A bill (H. R. 15957) granting an increase of pension to Calista L. Ealy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOFFMAN: A bill (H. R. 15958) granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Rhoades; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOGG of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 15959) granting a pension to William Lott (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15960) granting a pension to Scott West (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15961) granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Boler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOPKINS: A bill (H. R. 15962) making George W. Quinn eligible to receive the benefits of the civil service retirement act; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware: A bill (H. R. 15963) for the relief of A. Randolph Holladay; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HUDDLESTON: A bill (H. R. 15964) granting a pension to Charlotte Dean; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. IRWIN: A bill (H. R. 15965) granting a pension to Effie A. Wright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LUDLOW: A bill (H. R. 15966) granting a pension to Louis C. McKnight; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McSWAIN: A bill (H. R. 15967) for the relief of the heirs of Mrs. F. L. Stone; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MERRITT: A bill (H. R. 15968) granting a pension to Joseph J. Harris; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PALMER: A bill (H. R. 15969) granting a pension to Polk Stewart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15970) granting a pension to Sophia Brackmann; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. REED of New York: A bill (H. R. 15971) for the relief of the estate of Ernest Raymond Brick; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. RICH: A bill (H. R. 15972) granting an increase of pension to Laura E. Gerow; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SANDERS of Texas: A bill (H. R. 15973) for the relief of the State National Bank of Wills Point, Tex.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SPARKS: A bill (H. R. 15974) for the relief of Alexander M. Proctor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SPEAKS: A bill (H. R. 15975) granting a pension to Lusina Z. Michael; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STALKER: A bill (H. R. 15976) granting an increase of pension to Ellen C. Hyers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: A bill (H. R. 15977) for the relief of Clyde Sheldon; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TABER: A bill (H. R. 15978) granting an increase of pension to Dora E. Hutchens; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMPSON: A bill (H. R. 15979) granting a pension to Sarah M. Pennel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 15980) for the relief of Adolph Amilia Gathemann; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. VESTAL: A bill (H. R. 15981) granting an increase of pension to Emil Yates; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

8478. By Mr. CHRISTGAU: Petition of members of the Oalf B. Damm Post, No. 1216, of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, at Austin, Minn., urging the passage of legislation providing for the immediate payment to the veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

8479. By Mr. EATON of New Jersey: Indorsement of 161 voters of the fourth district of New Jersey, favoring the passage of House bill 7884, for the exemption of dogs from vivisection in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

8480. Also, resolution adopted by County Clerks, Register of Deeds and Mortgages, and Surrogates' Association of the State of New Jersey, protesting against conferring on judges of the United States district courts powers not given to common pleas courts in the matter of naturalization; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

8481. By Mr. MANSFIELD: Petition of Leon Zear Post, No. 166, American Legion, of Victoria, Tex., indorsing payment of adjusted-service certificates at once; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

8482. By Mr. MERRITT: Petition of sundry citizens of the fourth congressional district of Connecticut, urging the passage of House bill 7884, providing for the exemption of dogs from vivisection in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

8483. By Mr. SHREVE: Petition of Lieut. A. W. Thompson Post, No. 264, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Corry, Pa., favoring immediate payment of adjusted-service certificates in cash; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

8484. Also, petition of 125 World War veterans and members of the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Home, Erie, Pa., requesting payment in full face value of the adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

8485. Also, resolution of Billy Simpson Post, No. 470, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Erie, Pa., for payment in full face value the adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

8486. By Mr. YATES: Petition of Dr. W. W. Haggord, superintendent Joliet High School and Junior College, Joliet, Ill., urging the passage of the Capper-Reed vocational educational bill, S. 3969; to the Committee on Education.

8487. Also, petition of Local Union No. 3543, United Mine Workers of America, through John Woll, president, Brenton, Ill., urging Congress to enact a law for a 6-hour day, a 5-day week, and an unemployment insurance law; to the Committee on Labor.

8488. Also, petition of John D. Morris, 5515 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Ill., protesting against the increase of first-class postage from 2 cents to 2½ cents per ounce; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.